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ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
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VOICES FROM THE EAST.

VOICES FROM THE EAST.

DOCUMENTS

ON

THE PRESENT STATE AND WORKING OF

The Oriental Church.

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL RUSS, SLAVONIC, AND FRENCH,

WITH NOTES.

BY

THE REV. J. M. NEALE, M.A.,

WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE.

LONDON:

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,

AND NEW BOND STREET.

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a. c. Coolidge

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PREFACE.

WHILE slowly and laboriously carrying on my "History of the Holy Eastern Church," I cannot but feel the deepest interest in the present prospects, and hopes, and trials, and efforts, of that most venerable communion. The documents which appear in the present volume are such as are calculated to give the latest information on the state of the Oriental Church; and they have the advantage of allowing its members to speak for themselves.

I have been the more desirous of publishing them, because certain works that have lately appeared, as for example the "Eglise Orientale" of Pitzipios Bey, and the "La Russie sera-t-elle Catholique?" of Prince Gagarin, are calculated to give a very false impression regarding the East, particularly as respects her attitude towards Rome.

The first six Essays and Letters are from the able

pen of Andrew Nicolaievitch Mouravieff, late Procurator to the Holy Governing Synod. They (but with considerable alterations) have all appeared in French (some of them, I believe, only in that language,) under the title of "Question Réligieuse d'Orient et d'Occident," Moscow, 1856, and S. Petersburg, 1858. Those which were originally written in Russ, I have translated from that language; which I mention, in case these pages should fall into the hands of any one who possesses the French work, and who might in consequence wonder at the discrepancies between it and my own, which are very considerable.

Of these essays, the first seems to me singularly valuable. It appeared first under the same title afterwards given to all, and has been largely read. I should perhaps mention that the former part of this essay is not my own translation.

The third, though too statistical to be exactly interesting, is yet valuable as referring to a subject with which the English reader had before no possibility of becoming acquainted, the details of a Russian Mission.

The fourth I have given, not so much for its own value, as from the fact that Roman writers have more than once claimed the Eastern Church in defence of their new dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The most able refutation of that doctrine which I have yet seen, is to be found in the "Observateur Catholique," a work of intense interest to English Churchmen, as

the sole Gallican periodical, and, as such, breathing a most friendly feeling to our Church. The refutation of the Bishop of Bruges' work on the Bull *Ineffabilis* therein contained is the most crushing rejoinder that it is possible to conceive.

The *Acathiston* is the composition of one of the most pious and laborious of Russian Prelates, Innocent, Archbishop of Odessa, who was called to his reward on the 12th of May, 1857. Besides its intrinsic beauty, it is curious, as completely fusing the Western system of separate devotion to our LORD'S individual Wounds into an Eastern mould. Innocent was one of the first preachers of his time: a selection from his sermons has been translated into French by the late M. De Stourdza.

Some notes, it appeared to me, were absolutely necessary: but I have limited them to the smallest possible space.

And now I pray GOD to accept this volume as a mite thrown into the treasure-house of preparation for Union. The Union of the Three Churches, that second and even more glorious Pentecost, we cannot hope to see; but in the meantime, amidst all the obloquy, and disputes, and suspicions, and hard words of this generation, it is a blessed and consoling dream, which some day will, most assuredly, become a reality. But a real and true union must not be, like that of Lyons or Florence, the triumph of one party, and the surrender of

the other; but an equal assembly, where the problem of Orthodoxy on the one side, and Catholicity on the other, may be happily and enduringly solved. May God hasten that most glorious day!

Sackville College,
Michaelmas, 1859.

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TABULAR VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT ORIENTAL CHURCH.

	Metrop.	Abps.	Bps.	Total.
I. PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE: under The Most Entirely Holy Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch: *Cyril:* (late Metropolitan of Amasea): contains	90	4	41	135
II. PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA: under The Most Blessed and Holy Patriarch of the Great City Alexandria and All Egypt, Pentapolis, Libya, Ethiopia: *Hierotheus II.*: contains .	4			4
III. PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH: under The Most Blessed and Holy Patriarch of the Divine City Antioch, Syria, Arabia, Cilicia, Iberia, Mesopotamia, and All the East: Father of Fathers, and Pastor of Pastors: *Hierotheus:* contains	16			16
IV. PATRIARCHATE OF ALL THE RUSSIAS: under The Holy Governing Synod of S. Petersburg: contains	5	25	35	65
V. PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM: under The Most Blessed and Holy Patriarch of the Holy City Jerusalem and All Palestine, Arabia beyond Jordan, Cana in Galilee, and Holy Sion: *Cyril:* contains	6	1	6	13

	Metrop.	Abps.	Bps.	Total.
VI. CYPRUS: under The Most Blessed and Holy Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and All Cyprus: *Joannicius*: contains .	1		3	4
VII. AUSTRIA: under The Most Blessed and Holy Archbishop of Carlovitz, Metropolitan: contains	1		10	11
VIII. MOUNT SINA: contains		1		1
IX. MONTENEGRO: under The Metropolitan of Scanderia and the Sea Coast: Archbishop of Tsettin: Exarch of the Holy Throne of Pek: Vladika of Montenegro: Peter II., Petrovitch Niegush: contains	1			1
X. GREECE: under The Holy Governing Synod of Athens: contains			24[1]	24
Total	124	31	119	274
Add the Four Patriarchs				4
				278

Patriarchate of Constantinople, &c. . . .		12,000,000
,,	Alexandria	5,000
,,	Antioch, Cyprus, &c. . . .	150,000
,,	Russia	50,000,000
,,	Jerusalem	15,000
,,	Greece, Montenegro, &c. . .	800,000
,,	Austria, &c., (say)	3,000,000
		65,970,000

But this is probably under the real number.

[1] Eventually to be 36.

I.

CATHOLIC ORTHODOXY

AND

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSS.

I.

CATHOLIC ORTHODOXY AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE lamentable breach between Western and Eastern Christendom has now lasted more than six centuries. I reckon only six centuries, because I cannot carry the date of the complete breach further back than to the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. Then at length it was that their sword cut the last links which down to that time still united the West with the East, notwithstanding the doctrinal dissensions, which had begun earlier, from the times of Pope Nicholas and the Patriarch Photius, in the ninth century. There had indeed more than once, in former times also, in the times that is of the Œcumenical Councils, been misunderstandings and estrangements between the two Churches, especially after the Fourth Synod, when the estrangement lasted for half a century: but this did not break up the unity of Œcumenical Christendom until the attempt of the Westerns to impose by the sword

their one-sided view, and the pretensions of Rome to spiritual monarchy, shook the very basis of union. Since those times down to the present day, the force of other arms,—the arms of ecclesiastical controversy, by word and by writing, by individuals and by synods, has been tried and exhausted. It would be useless to reproduce here arguments which have been set forth so many times already and in so many books, but which have failed to produce conviction on either side, because unhappily, in controversies of this sort, there is so much in the prejudgment with which the reader opens the book. The present writer may be permitted, as a Russian addressing himself to Russians, to instance the "Right of the Universal Church," in which the chief causes of the breach between Pope Nicholas and Photius are set forth with sufficient clearness of detail. Among the most recent foreign writers, I would earnestly press every one who takes any interest in this question, to read the remarkable treatise of the late Anglican Priest *Allies*, intitled, "The Anglican Church freed from the charge of Schism by the testimony of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, and of the Holy Fathers." Nowhere are all the testimonies of the Primitive Universal Church against Roman pretensions set forth so fully or so clearly as in this book.

Though the object of the writer was, apparently, to defend his own Church, his proofs have all reference to the Eastern Church, for the Anglican was as yet little heard of in those times of the Councils from which he draws his testimonies: and it may be said with truth that his book is one of the best for the defence of the Œcumenical rights of the East, so far as it can be

said to need any defence from us at all. From it I shall borrow some testimonies to the rightfulness of our side, arising from certain critical passages of history, which reveal the truth. The readers of this book need not be disturbed by the fact which the Romans urge against it, that the author after having written so much against Rome, has in spite of himself become a convert to Rome. The fact is true: but it can scarce have been from his having come to be convinced of the truth of the Roman pretensions, after all the unanswerable proofs which he had before brought together against them from the holy Fathers and the Canons of the Councils: more probably it was owing to the unhappy state of that Church to which he himself belonged. To his eyes, as to those of many others, it had almost ceased to be a Christian Church from the time that by a decision of its Primate the Archbishop of Canterbury, concurred in by the Archbishop of York, though against the opinion of the Bishop of London, and given by these Archbishops as members of a secular Court in conjunction with certain lay Lords, a new rule was established respecting the question which had been moved between a Priest and his Bishop, *whether Baptism washes away original sin?* They decided that it was free to preach either way affirmatively or negatively on this point, though the doctrine involved is the very foundation of Christianity. Allies, and many others beside him, thought that it was better to belong to the Roman Church, even with its excessive pretensions, than to belong to no Church at all, seeing that the Archbishops of the Anglican Church had now ceased to maintain the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, that is, the

doctrine of Baptism. Here we see one of the causes of that great success which has attended the proselytizing efforts of the Roman Catholics in England, especially of late years, when so many men of distinguished learning, who had been striving to revive primitive orthodoxy within their own Anglican Church, have all at once gone over to the Roman. But this ought not to prevent any investigator of truth from distinguishing between that which is attributable to the force of circumstances, and those testimonies which may be found in the works of the writers themselves.

The main art—not to say artifice—of Rome in her controversies with the orthodox, consists in the attempt to draw off their attention from practice to theory, from that unbroken series of Ecclesiastical facts and Canons of Councils which during a succession of many centuries from the beginning bear witness in favour of the East, but which need to be known, to that imposing system of the Roman monarchy which grew up after the rupture, and dazzles the eyes of the ignorant by the splendour of a pretended universality. Some particular expressions of Fathers and Councils cut out from their context, and viewed apart without any adequate accompanying idea of the time and circumstances, and some particular passages of Ecclesiastical history urged and commented upon with similar unfairness, are laid as the foundation of this system, which is utterly contradictory to the primitive constitution and life of the Church. It was developed in its full proportions by the help of the spurious decretals, since exposed and given up, not earlier than the sixteenth century, by Cardinal Bellarmine: and thenceforth has been made

the very basis of the Papal Church, without which she cannot exist, nor admits any to her communion.

The inconsistency of this system with the Œcumenical Canons lies in this, that it has gradually changed that seniority or primacy of the See of Rome over the other four patriarchal sees, which was sanctioned by the Councils, into a *Headship* of the Pope over the whole Universal Church, uncanonical and never hitherto admitted by the East. Rome, as the ancient capital of the heathen world, to which the whole habitable earth had for ages been accustomed to look, and as the single Episcopal see founded by Apostles in the West, while there were many sees founded by the personal presence of Apostles in the East, naturally drew together all the Westerns to this one central point of their unity. The Roman Patriarch was truly their head, in like manner as the four Eastern Patriarchs, of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were the heads respectively of their Ecclesiastical regions defined by the Councils, the Patriarch of Constantinople also by the Canon of the Councils having over the other three a privilege of seniority, as the Archbishop of New Rome and the centre of Ecclesiastical Synods in the presence of the Emperors.

Upon this synodal system of Ecclesiastical government, which lasted undeniably for nine centuries and more, there grew up at last the monarchical system of Rome, when political circumstances exalted the West above the suffering East; and on the foundation of a growing sense of the primacy of Peter over the rest of the Apostles, there arose the lordship of the Pope over the rest of the Bishops. Now the question is not

whether the Pope, as the successor of Peter, is to be the first among his brethren and equals, which the East cannot rightly gainsay, for it is confirmed by the Œcumenical Canons: but from this Ecclesiastical order there has been formed in the West a distinct religious dogma, which is set on an equality with the other dogmas of the Christian faith: and this dogma gained strength in proportion as the Roman jurisdiction was extended, subjecting to itself by force of arms the Eastern Patriarchal Sees, so that the first of the Patriarchs forgot in a manner their primitive equality, and even their existence. All around him became fixed in this new system, because during many centuries all the vital powers having their centre in Rome as in the heart of the human body, have become used to this order of circulation, and now are unable to understand any other.

The Pope, from being the successor of Peter, or rather to speak more correctly, from being the tenant of that chair which was founded jointly by both the Princes of the Apostles, (for Peter and Paul together, as is well known from ecclesiastical history, while they were themselves yet living, consecrated Linus to be the first Bishop of Rome,)—the Pope, I say, in time magnified himself with the exclusive title of Vicar of CHRIST, which we meet with for the first time in the Council of Florence, as late as the fifteenth century. The title of Vicar of Peter has never been denied him by the Eastern Church, though she styled him rather the successor of the two Apostles jointly, just as all the other Patriarchs and Bishops were successors of the other Apostles, yielding only the primacy to Peter in matters of common interest, in im-

portant questions of doctrine, or when other sees were shaken by schism; while the two chairs of Alexandria and Antioch, as having been founded also by the Apostle Peter, were considered in conjunction with that of Rome, to use the expression of Pope S. Gregory, as three chairs of one and the same Apostle, and therefore equal to one another in dignity.

Attention is due to this circumstance, which has perhaps hitherto scarcely been noticed, that if the precedence of the Patriarchal Sees had been grounded only on the dignity of the first of the Apostles, and not upon the importance of the cities themselves, the See of Antioch would have had precedence over that of Alexandria, inasmuch as S. Peter himself resided seven years in Antioch, while to Alexandria he only sent his disciple the Evangelist S. Mark. On the ground of the pre-eminence of one city over another Constantinople too, on becoming the Capital, or New Rome, was set by the Councils above Alexandria and Antioch, and still retains that place, even with the Romans.

No doubt the Pope may style himself, in his own sphere, the West, the Vicar, not only of Peter, but of CHRIST, —in that sense, however, in which every Bishop has a right to a similar title, as the representative of the Apostolic Church. But this high title cannot be made to belong to the Pope alone, to the exclusion and obscuration of the rest, any more than the title of Universal Bishop, in that sense in which it is understood by the Romans. For else all the rest must lose their dignity, to use the words of Gregory the Great already mentioned; and if the one universal slips in the faith, then the whole Church falls with him: on which account

it was that the East so energetically opposed this new-fangled dogma of the Council of Florence.

It is curious to see, however, to what an extent, on the ground of an uncanonical title, the Romans have distorted the Catholic recognition of the primacy of their Bishop. Now he is no more the elder among brethren, but the Head; and it is not in the sense of successor of the chief Apostle, but of Vicar of CHRIST Himself. From him alone and through him only emanates the grace of the Priesthood to all the Bishops, and without him no one can be confirmed, inasmuch as every one receives his degree only by grace of the Apostolic See of Rome. All the Bishops together are not equal in dignity to the Pope by himself, who is above them all by his office, and even lords it over œcumenical councils, as being alone possessed of infallibility, according to the opinion of the Ultramontanes,—that is, the most ardent zealots for Rome, who have a vast preponderance over the favourers of the Gallican liberties. The Pope alone has the supreme power of binding and loosing, by the power of the keys, which were promised to S. Peter before the other Apostles; though the same power was also given by the LORD, after His Resurrection, to all the Apostles together, without any special privilege to Peter, when He breathed on them all, and said to all alike, "*Receive the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*" Though the first of the Western Divines, S. Augustine, says distinctly that S. Peter "*represented the person of the whole Church, for it was not one man, but the whole unity of the Church, that received these keys,*" the Westerns, notwithstanding such

clear testimony, insist, in order to maintain the Papal monarchy, that whoever does not acknowledge the Pope for Head of the Church, and is out of his Communion, is thereby *ipso facto* cut off from Communion with CHRIST, and is out of the saving ark of the Church.

I will not here deduce over again, as I have done in the "Right of the Catholic Church," a consecutive chain of historical testimonies from the Holy Fathers and the Councils against this doctrine, and the new ecclesiastical system with which it is associated, and which, to use the words of Fleury, has changed the old basis, and introduced principles quite unknown to antiquity. I will mention, however, some striking exemplifications of the ancient system of the Church, and of the Canons of the Councils, to make it clear how the Universal Church might have continued to subsist, and how the Orthodox Church does in fact subsist to this day, without these innovations, which have never served her as a necessary basis or foundation.

Where can we better look than in the Œcumenical Councils—the very mirrors of orthodoxy—for an exhibition, in all its fulness, of the Catholic administration of the Church on those principles which were intended never to be changed in succeeding ages? I will briefly, then, state these fundamental principles, beginning from the first Council of Nicæa, in which the place of president was held by the great Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, and not by the Papal Legates, as later Roman writers have attempted to make out by help of the spurious synodal acts of Gelasius.

In Canon VI. of the Council of Nice we read, "Let

the ancient customs be kept which are received in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; that is, that the Bishop of Alexandria have power over all these, since this is the custom also for the Bishop of Rome. In like manner in Antioch also, and in the other provinces, let the privileges of the Churches be preserved." But when, in the fourth Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, the Papal Legates, grounding themselves on certain Roman readings, would have read this Canon thus, "Let the Roman Church always have the primacy," which is not in the Nicene Canons, the inaccuracy of this reading was exposed by the original text.

The same thing occurred somewhat earlier in the African Church also, when Pope Celestine, maintaining a demand made by his predecessor, Zosimus, would have had the local canon of the Western Council of Sardica, concerning reference in certain important cases to the See of S. Peter, to be received as part of the Œcumenical Canons of Nice. The numerously attended Synod of Carthage replied to the Pope that "what had before been sent to them from Rome, as constitutions of the Nicene Council, was not to be found in the verified copies of the original text, which had been furnished to them from Alexandria and Constantinople." And thereupon the Synod added, "The Fathers have judged that no province is unsupplied with a sufficiency of the grace of the Holy Ghost, enabling the Priests of Christ to perceive reasonably and to maintain firmly what is just, especially when every man, if there be any doubt of the righteousness of the decision of the nearest judges, is free to go to the Synod of his Province, and even to an Œcumenical Synod:

unless there be any one who thinks that our GOD can infuse the spirit of judgment to some one individual only, and leave the multitude of His Priests who meet in synod destitute of the same. As for this, that some should be sent us from the side (*a latere*) of thy Holiness, we find no such rule laid down by any Council of the Fathers: that we may not seem to introduce the smoky pride of the world into CHRIST'S Church, which to them that wish to see GOD offers the light of simplicity and the day of humility." Such expressions are remarkable, addressed, not from Eastern, but from Western Bishops to the first See.

From the Acts and Canons of the second Œcumenical Council, convoked at Constantinople in 381, by the Emperor Theodosius, at which were present all the greatest lights of the East, as S. Meletius of Antioch, S. Gregory Theologus, S. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of S. Basil, and his friend S. Amphilochius, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, the following testimonies are extracted by Mr. Allies:

1. This Council was convoked by the Emperor, without the consent of the Pope, or the presence of his Legates, or of any of the Western Bishops.

2. Its president was S. Meletius of Antioch, who was not in communion with Rome, though he was considered orthodox, the Pope recognising as the canonical Bishop of Antioch Paulinus, the rival of Meletius.

3. After the death of Meletius, the Synod thought proper to elect a successor to him, S. Flavian, rather than confirm Paulinus in possession of the See, notwithstanding that he was recognised at Rome as the only lawful Bishop of Antioch.

4. This Synod, though composed exclusively of Eastern Bishops, added of its own authority a number of articles to the Nicene Creed for its explanation, and from that time the said Creed became the evidence of the faith of the whole Catholic Church, and the badge of unity between the West and the East, till unity was broken by the former.

5. Not only did it promulgate Canons for the internal administration of the Church, through provincial Synods, but it even changed the order of precedence in the hierarchy prevailing at that time, by giving precedence to the See of Constantinople over those of Alexandria and Antioch.

6. This Synod was nevertheless recognised as œcumenical in the West as well as in the East. That which was held the following year at Rome, as if in opposition to it, passed into oblivion with all its acts; while the Synod of Constantinople, notwithstanding the complaints of the Italian Bishops, was recognised at Rome.

Thus the Canons by which the whole East is still directed were held to be of force without Papal authority, and even its creed was recognised as œcumenical. If we compare such important events and testimonies with the Roman pretensions that the Pope alone is the source of all episcopal jurisdiction, and the root of their authority, as the Vicar of CHRIST on earth, how great a discordancy do we not find between them and the true œcumenical Canons? The opposition of the African Church, mentioned above, is nothing compared with these decisive and spontaneous acts of the whole East, utterly ignoring the Papal Supremacy. How, again, can one reconcile with the modern doctrine of Rome,

that out of its communion there is no salvation, the striking fact, that S. Meletius, who was out of it, not only presided in an Œcumenical Council which amplified the Creed, but was also reckoned among the Saints by the West and the East alike? Or is this an exception from general rules? But the case is by no means singular.

In the third Œcumenical Council at Ephesus, the president was S. Cyril of Alexandria, whom the Romans wish to bring down by giving him the title of Papal Vicar, without attending to the clearness of the acts of the Council; and in the Canons of this Council also there was set a decided barrier against all lust of dominion. "Let no Bishop presume to intrude into another diocese, lest, under the guise of sacred ministrations, there creep in the pride of worldly dominion, and we gradually and imperceptibly lose that liberty which our Redeemer purchased for us with His own Blood." The Council, by the choice of such expressions, seems to have foreseen that this would take place in the West "little by little and imperceptibly," and in the same spirit of prescience fenced the Creed itself against future Western additions, by strictly forbidding to add anything to it or take anything away. At this Council, however, all the Fathers exclaimed unanimously, seeing the agreement in judgment of Pope Celestine and the Patriarch Cyril, "Celestine a new Paul! Cyril a new Paul! One is the Catholic faith, one is the faith of the universe." So also in the Fourth Council at Chalcedon the Fathers, when they had read the orthodox exposition of faith of S. Leo the Great, agreeing with the doctrine of S. Cyril, cried out, "Peter hath spoken by

the lips of Leo. Thus have the Apostles taught: Cyril has taught the same. Everlasting memory to Cyril! Leo and Cyril have taught one and the same doctrine! This is the faith of the Fathers!" Such was the equal agreement of the East with the West, and the standard of orthodoxy to them both was Cyril of Alexandria.

It is worthy of attention that the East still preserves that order of the hierarchy which was fixed by the Canons of these two Councils, just as if they had been held in our own times. So the small island of Cyprus, which had one Archbishop with three suffragan Bishops under him, and was then independent of the See of Antioch, remains still independent to this day, though the island of Crete, which is fully as important as Cyprus, and the coast of Anatolia, over against Cyprus, are subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Council of Chalcedon said: "If a Bishop or Clerk has any complaint against the Metropolitan of his province, let him have recourse to the Exarch of the greater province, or to the chair of the capital city of Constantinople, and let judgment be made there." So this is until now. The same Council said: "Following in all things the determination of the holy Fathers, we make a constitution concerning the privileges of the Most Holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome; for to the chair of Old Rome the Fathers properly gave a privilege, *because it was the capital city.* Following the same example, the CL. holy Bishops also gave equal privileges to the Most Holy chair of New Rome, rightly judging that the city which had obtained the honour of being the residence of the Emperor and the senate, and had equal privileges with the capital of Old Rome,

should be exalted also like unto it in ecclesiastical respects, and be second after it." Shall we say that the six hundred and thirty holy Fathers who framed this 28th Canon in the general Council of Chalcedon did not understand what they said? or in what consists the special apostolical privilege of Old Rome over the New? It was just because they did understand, that this Canon was synodically enacted, in spite of the opposition of the Roman Legates and of the Pope Leo the Great himself, who, however, did not base his opposition on the fact that they had dared to equal New Rome with the Old, but on this; that they set New Rome above the older chairs of Alexandria and Antioch.

We ought not, however, to omit to notice that it was certainly in the Council of Chalcedon, rather than on any other occasion before or after, that the person of the Roman Primate was magnified, both from the personal merits of S. Leo, and also owing to the circumstances of the East, as the holders of the other patriarchal chairs were in an unfavourable position. Dioscorus of Alexandria was condemned and deposed in the Council as a heretic; Anatolius of Constantinople was consecrated by it in place of Flavian, who had been killed by the enemies of orthodoxy, and himself ordained the Patriarch of Antioch, Maximus; while Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was at the first favourable to Dioscorus. Consequently, it was very natural that the Roman Legates made a greater figure than the other Bishops, who expressed themselves humbly before the great defender of Orthodoxy, Leo, and even wrote in their synodal letter to him, that, in the person of his representatives, he led them, as the head leads the members.

However, notwithstanding this, they decreed, in spite of him, the equal privilege of honour to the chair of Constantinople. But if the Roman Bishop was magnified owing to circumstances at the Council of Chalcedon, his person was never brought down so low as in the Fifth Œcumenical Council, and for that reason the Romans do not like to say anything about it.

If it is really true that no Council can be called without consent of the Pope; and if there is any foundation for the words of the most recent champion of the Papacy, the Count de Maistre, that "such propositions as this, that the Bishops, apart from the Pope, and even at variance with him, may be in a Synod above him, are simple absurdities," then how are we to reconcile with this truth the acts of this Fifth Council? The Emperor Justinian calls it against the will of the Pope, who holding an opinion condemned by this Council, forbids even the discussion of it; and, what is more, not only is he himself indirectly, though without being named, condemned by the Fathers of the Council as breaking the general consent, but he is even compelled eventually to consent to their opinion, and to express his sorrow in writing for having held aloof from his brethren from want of charity. Must not even the Romans confess that it can only be total ignorance of the acts of the Councils that brings zealots like De Maistre and others to such conclusions?

At the Sixth General Council, as if to refute the modern self-asserted opinion of the Romans concerning the infallibility of their Apostolical Chair, a Pope—no longer indirectly, but in express words—Pope Honorius, though long dead, is condemned for having favoured

the Monothelite heresy, together with other heresiarchs; and this is notified to one of his successors, Pope Leo II., who had to subscribe this condemnation. In the canons, which are reckoned as appendages to the acts of this Council, several Roman customs are condemned—the celibacy of Priests, and the Fast of the Sabbath, with the threat even of excommunication for the second; and though the Romans do not receive these canons, they have always served as rules of guidance for the East; and so there is no need of Papal confirmation for the canons of Councils which are recognised as Œcumenical. The Legates of Pope Agatho acted with more humility than those of Pope Leo the Great, and though the Council showed him such respect that it allowed the Patriarch of Alexandria, who had been condemned for heresy, to appeal to him, still the Pope, in the Letters of the Council, was named only the Bishop of the first chair, and the other Patriarchs were called "sharers of the same throne;" and he himself subscribed not as "Universal Bishop," but only Bishop of the Catholic Church of the city of Rome; that is, of a part, not of the whole. He called himself, in his Letter to the Emperor, in common with the other poor presidents of CHRIST'S Church in the Western parts, the servant of his most Christian Empire. How far is this from the exaltation of Pope Gregory VII., before whom Emperors were as servants!

There was, however, just at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, between the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, one Roman Pontiff of this name, S. Gregory the Great, by no means less sensible than his predecessors or successors of the dignity of his

see, but only spiritually, and who may therefore serve as a pattern of ecclesiastical government, not only in his own time, but also for succeeding ages. In civil matters he humbled himself not only before the power of his legitimate Emperor, Maurice, but even before the usurper of his throne, Phocas, as representing the "power that was;" while in spiritual matters he thought so highly of the importance of the See of Peter, that by its authority he condemned the erroneous judgments of others; for, according to his opinion, a scandal caused even by one of the Patriarchs cannot be left without notice; and in case of any fault there is no Bishop who would not desire its influence; but when there is no fault, all the Bishops, not excepting the Roman, are equal one with another according to the spirit of humility. So, in earlier times, the great Athanasius also laboured indifferently for all the Churches of the Universe, when it was a question of heresy; and another great champion of Orthodoxy, Basil, said that on Athanasius lay the burden of all the Churches.

Nevertheless Gregory, who was really holy and great, did not take to himself the title of universal Bishop, but, on the contrary, wrote to his brother of Constantinople, who coveted this title, as follows:—

"Reflect that by thy ill-judged ambition the peace of the world is disturbed (as was actually the case, when the Roman Bishop was magnified); affect with all thy heart humility, by which may be preserved the concord of all the brethren and the unity of the Holy Catholic Church. When the Apostle Paul heard some saying, '*I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas,*' he was horror-struck at such a rending of the Body of the

LORD, Whose limbs were attaching themselves to strange heads, and exclaimed, 'Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?' so he shrank from putting the members of the LORD'S Body, in particular, even under the Apostles themselves. What wilt thou say to CHRIST, that is, to the Universal Head of the Church, at the trial of the last judgment, thou who, by the title of Œcumenical, strivest to subject to thyself all His members? Who in this so perverse a title is proposed for imitation but the power that, despising the legions of angels set in fellowship with him, sought to exalt himself to the summit of unity, in order not to be under any, and that he alone might appear above all?" What a fearful admonition for Rome!

"In truth, the Apostle Peter is the first member of the holy and universal Church; and Paul, Andrew, John, what else are they than heads of particular peoples? and yet, under one Head, are all the members of the Church. And, to speak briefly, the Saints before the Law, the Saints under the Law, and the Saints under Grace, all have their part in filling up the Body of CHRIST, and are reckoned to the members of the Church; and none of them ever sought to be named Œcumenical." (Here we see what is the true teaching of the Church.) "And, behold, from this insane and proud title the Church is divided, and the hearts of all the brethren are troubled with scandal." We may add to this the words of the great Gregory, "I write this not against you, but for your sake, for I cannot put any one before the commandments of the Gospel and the canons of the Church."

This great Pope wrote not only to the Patriarch of

Constantinople, but also to all the rest in the same spirit, observing to them that if one of the Patriarchs is to be called Universal, the rank of all the rest is hereby reduced to nothing. "Can I do otherwise than grieve, when I see that our once humble brother has come to be so lifted up that he seeks to appropriate to himself power over all those who are united with the sole Head, that is, with CHRIST, and to subject to himself all CHRIST'S members by the exaltation of a proud title? If they allow him to use such a title, then all the Patriarchs lose their dignity, and when he who is called the Universal Bishop falls into error, there will be no longer to be found any Bishop standing in the truth. And so I beseech you to keep your Churches such as ye have received them. Preserve from this perversion the Bishops under you, and show them that ye are indeed Patriarchs of the Universal Church."

And to the Emperor Maurice he wrote that, though "there are some vanities which are harmless, there are others which are most pernicious. When Antichrist who is to come shall call himself GOD, this will be vanity indeed, but at the same time it will be a most destructive vanity. Now I will boldly say that if any one calls himself or wishes others to call him a Universal Bishop, the same is by his tumour a precursor of Antichrist, for he proudly exalts himself above the rest." And to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in answer to his letter of compliment, he replied, "Though there be many Apostles, so far as the honour itself goes, still one chair only of the chief Apostle is pre-eminent in its importance, which in three different places belongs only to one. For he himself exalted that chair in which he

sat and finished his mortal life, he himself adorned that chair to which he sent his disciple the Evangelist, and he himself established that chair on which he first sat for seven years. And so, if that chair is one and of one, on which now by the Divine power sit three Bishops, then I impute to myself whatever good I hear of you, but whatever good ye may hear of me, that impute to your own deserts, for we are one in Him who hath said, 'That they may all be one, as the FATHER in Me and I in the FATHER, that so they all may be one in us.' (S. John xvii.)"

If all these testimonies were met with in the writings of any one Father who might be considered as an opponent of the Roman supremacy, if they had come from any one of the Patriarchs of Constantinople when defending their own rights, even in that case such expressions would have had some force, not as the particular opinions of an individual, but as evidences of the mind of those times. But how much more must we admit them to be of the utmost importance, and to be deserving of all credit, when we continually find them uttered without any sort of necessity in the formal letters of a Pope to the Emperor, and of a Pope, too, who was the most strenuous possible asserter of the rights of primacy of his See! If we further add to this that they are corroborated by the events of history, by the decrees of Councils, and by the testimonies of Fathers from all parts of the world, during the earliest and most flourishing ages of the Church's existence, is it possible after this to shake them by any modern speculation?

We see also, in the Seventh Œcumenical Council,

and in the two following Councils, though they were not reckoned to be Œcumenical, in the days of Photius, when for the last time the West and the East met in concord, the same Synodal or collective constitution of the Church. It was S. Tarasius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and not the Papal Legates, who presided in the Seventh, and the acts of the pseudo-synod held under Copronymus were rejected on this ground, that neither the Pope of Rome nor his Legates nor the Eastern Patriarchs had had any part in it, as was requisite for a regular Œcumenical Council. At the same time were confirmed all the ancient canons of the Church, and the Creed itself, as if from a presentiment that they were likely soon to be tampered with in the West. The Synodal government of the Church was declared with no less clearness also in the Synod held at Constantinople against Photius. In the presence of the Roman Legates the Emperor Basil the Macedonian said, in refutation of Synods held irregularly, "The whole world under the sun knows that by the grace of the true God five Patriarchs, set in different parts of the world, maintain truth and cannot betray the faith; consequently what is judged by them must be received." This Imperial and Synodal declaration is the more remarkable, because then three of the Eastern Patriarchs, those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, were already, as now, under the power of the Saracen, and brought so low that they could scarcely send their representatives to the Council.

But if this Ecclesiastical order of a Synodal government by five Patriarchal thrones still remained entire at the close of the ninth century, under the same con-

ditions of the Mahometan yoke, why was it not to last still longer? For the reason that Pope Nicholas I. in his rivalry with Photius (to use the words of the Jesuit Maimbourg, intended to be laudatory), exalted the authority of the supreme Pontiff to a far higher point than it had ever reached before, in respect to Emperors and Kings, Patriarchs and Bishops, dealing with them, when he thought any right of his throne to be concerned, much more stiffly than any of his predecessors. This made it necessary for the Patriarch Photius and his successors to withstand. The Pope thus acted on the ground of the spurious decretals of the ancient Pontiffs which appeared about his time, and of which the western historian himself, Fleury, says that "they destroyed, by continual appeals to the See of Rome, the ancient rights of the Metropolitan and local Synods, even in the west; but however gross was such an imposture, it still led into error, for eight hundred years, the whole Latin Church."

Another cause for the destruction of the Synodal order was this,—that for a century and a half, that is, during the whole of the tenth century, and half the eleventh, the Roman Church suffered from untold anarchy and disorders of her Bishops to the scandal of the whole Christian world. One may say that, during that time, she separated herself, in the darkness of her internal disorders from communion with the Eastern Churches; and when (at the end of the eleventh century) the zealous Pope Gregory VII. began with a strong hand to correct around him all Ecclesiastical disorders, he formed in his western isolation a new Gothic system for the Roman Church on the foun-

dation of the forged decretals, which his successors strove to impose as canonical on the East, depressed by calamities. This was effected, with a full confidence that he was acting righteously, by Pope Innocent III. (at the beginning of the thirteenth century) through the sword of the Crusaders when they seized Constantinople. At that time, in utter despite of the canons, the Pope appointed Latin Patriarchs, while the Eastern occupants still lived, to the chairs of these latter, and after the expulsion of the Crusaders, they have been perpetuated as titular Patriarchs. Hence has been formed a new entire system of Roman monarchy, in which all the degrees of the hierarchy are reduced to a level under the Papal Supremacy.

From this cause, when, after five centuries, the Eastern bishops again met the Western in the Council of Florence, the former were astounded at that vast change which had taken place in this time in the inward constitution and habits of the Western Church. And how could they be otherwise than astonished, when instead of a brotherly salutation, the Pope demanded of the Patriarch of Constantinople and his Bishops that they should kiss his feet, and acknowledge him as Vicar of CHRIST, and Bishop of the universe? The dogma of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST also from the SON, (of which even so late a Pope as John VIII. wrote so modestly to Photius, asking him to use condescendence towards this addition which had crept into the creed,) was now publicly defended by them in the Council, and all but imposed on the Easterns, in contravention of all the canons, together with the supremacy of the Pope. For the times were desperate, and the Emperor himself,

as is said even in the Latin account of the Council, urged his Bishops "to think of methods of union, if they would escape a persecution sharper than any that had been under Diocletian." They repented too late that they had been enticed by the flattering proposals of Pope Eugenius, instead of accepting the other more sincere invitation of the German Emperor to the Synod of Basle, which acted independently of the Pope and even against him. Had they done so, perhaps a more canonical union of the Churches might have been concluded in that Council, if the Eastern Patriarchs had added the weight of their chairs to so numerous an assembly of Western Bishops, in the presence of both the Emperors. Perhaps too the Protestant schism which tore away such a multitude of the children of the Roman Church, might then never have taken place; as from such a Synod satisfaction and redress might have been obtained for all those abuses against which the West had so long complained, and which occasioned the meeting of the Synods of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, with the seventy years' split of the Papal chair into three. The East might have been able to make a better and more pacific correction, by the purity of her canons, of whatever had become corrupted in the west through the admission and mixture of the false decretals; whereas at the last Synod of Trent against the Protestants, which is held now as the foundation of the Roman system of doctrine, Roman absolutism had a complete triumph, and Pope Pius V. subscribed it as Bishop of the whole Catholic Church.

From those times the Romans, without looking into

the essence of the fundamental canons of the East, have been striving to impose their uncanonical Headship on the Easterns, who hold fast to the Synodal constitution. The Romans are utterly unwilling to understand that, of these two entirely opposite types the one has so intimately blended and associated itself with the Papal monarchy, that if this Headship were taken away from it, the whole fabric of its unity would fall to pieces; while the other in the lapse of a still greater number of ages than the first, (for it adheres to the original order) has collectively united itself into one whole, with a certain Patriarch and independent Synod, and cannot admit within itself such a Headship as would destroy the whole of its collective or synodal system. The Romans trusting in their numerical majority, and in the pre-eminence of their Apostolic See, think to exclude from the catholicity of the universal Church the whole East, because it yields to them by more than the half in the number of its Christians. They forget however that, while they have only one apostolic chair of Peter and Paul, (which on this account too has been made so much of in the West) the East has two chairs of Peter (to use the words of Pope S. Gregory the Great) in Antioch and Alexandria, and so many of Paul in all Greece and Asia, without reckoning other Sees also Apostolic. They forget that the very tongue in which the Divine Service of the East is performed, is the original tongue of the Gospels and Epistles; for the light of CHRIST, like the natural light of the sun, travelled from the East to the West; and if they reproach the Patriarchal Sees with their separation from the higher See of Rome, they yet cannot reproach them

with any single error of doctrine; they even confess that in the East all those rites of the first ages, which with them have undergone change, have been preserved perfect. As for the matter of numerical majority, the example under the old dispensation of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin preserving the pure faith of their fathers, while the other ten tribes of Israel fell away, makes nothing in favour of the greater number.

Let the Romans boast of their Council of Trent and other Councils anterior to it as œcumenical, though the true Patriarchs of the East had no part in them. These latter behave with more moderation; and though they often hold assemblies and take into union with themselves the whole of the wide North, they still do not call their Synods Œcumenical; though on the other hand they do not cease to take the blessed titles of Catholic and Apostolic. But the title which belongs to them, exclusively and inalienably before all others, is that of Orthodox, which they rightly glory in, seeing that they have kept in all their purity all the doctrines and canons of the primitive Church, through the storms and calamities of so many ages.

Let us now consider dispassionately, though it must be but cursorily, the outward and inward state of both the Churches, the Western and the Eastern, and bearing in mind the indispensable condition, that the truth of doctrine must be one and invariable for our salvation, let us see in which of them are to be found, in greater fulness or abundance, the means or assistances towards attaining salvation the common object of us all.

Let us begin with the Western, as pretending not

only to pre-eminence, but also to exclusive Catholicity. Let us do justice to that in her which may be really praiseworthy, because it is thus only that we may approximate to peace, if we will without prejudice acknowledge one another's good points or superiorities, as well as notice defects.

What is it that involuntarily strikes the eye in the external appearance of the Roman Church, and makes it so attractive for many who have never learned what is the original constitution of the universal Church? It is its vast size set off with the name of catholicity; for its numbers exceed by more than half those of the Eastern Church; all united together by the chair of the Prince of the Apostles, from which alone is derived the confirmation of all the Pastors of so numerous a flock diffused over the whole world. No doubt such an union, though not based upon the canons of the councils, but rather on the customs of the middle ages, presents a magnificent spectacle. If the Roman chair was content with its own Western Patriarchate, however exorbitantly extended to the diminution of the rest, and did not impose, as an indispensable dogma, its uncanonical pretensions on the chairs of the Eastern Patriarchs of equal degree with itself, it would even yet be possible for them to acquiesce in such an excessive exaltation of their elder sister, especially if she used her power not for their hurt but for their support. But unhappily we see precisely the contrary, and the exaltation throughout the world of the Roman throne, according to the prophetic words of one of its greatest Pontiffs, Pope S. Gregory, obscures all the rest, so that the honour and dignity of equality are taken away from all the Patriarchs: and

further, owing to this canonical supremacy, certain particular and erroneous opinions of this See, unauthorized by the Œcumenical Councils, have by imperceptible degrees spread through the whole Church subjected to it: as if in justification of the deep words of the same great luminary of the Church that "if one call himself Universal and he fall into error, then there shall no longer be any Bishop to maintain the truth."

The splendid theory of this universal unity, based exclusively on the stability of the one Apostolical See of Old Rome, loses much of its lustre when it is brought into practice; and especially in its very centre, where it ought, as it would seem, to show itself stronger than at a distance. What is admitted now, by the general European consent of all Roman Catholic powers, to be the indispensable condition of the stability of the Roman Chair and the universal Headship of the Pope? His temporal dominion over the Roman territory in quality of sovereign, that so he may be able, independently of all secular powers, as their common father, and Bishop of Rome, and Universal Bishop, to feed with full liberty the whole Church of CHRIST our GOD, Whose Vicariate he has received on earth, though He Whose image he bears distinctly declared to the Roman governor that His kingdom is not of this world.

The LORD added further, in witness of this, that His kingdom is not earthly, but heavenly. "If My kingdom had been of this world, My servants would have fought, that I should not have been delivered to the Jews." (S. John xviii. 36.) Is not that completely contrary to this which we see now, when the Roman Pontiff, having

taken the place of the Cæsars, requires that his servants should fight for him that he be not given up to the civil power which rises against him, and is only by the power of his army maintained in his capital? How are we to reconcile with the present strange state of Roman affairs these repeated words of the LORD, "Now is My kingdom not from hence?" Hence it is manifest that it is impossible to found, on such a plain contradiction to the LORD'S words, the system of the Roman temporal dominion; without which power, by the confession of the most zealous Romans themselves, the universal Headship of the Pope cannot stand. But with this falls all their modern system, as not founded on the evangelical tradition, or on the Canons of the Councils. And though for a time, during the darkness of the middle ages, this system certainly had an outward success, and even produced undeniably the varied fruits of European civilisation, still, with the increase of enlightenment, and the predominance of the spiritual principle over the material, and through the communication of the West with the East, which she had so long forgotten, it was destined necessarily to break down of itself.

It is worthy of attention, that the Romans everywhere lay stress upon this alleged fact, that such Churches as have been unwilling to admit over them the spiritual Headship of the Pope, have necessarily fallen in consequence under the secular power. It may be that the secular power has predominated in some cases; yet not over spiritual principles, but just at the point of their connection with secular matters. But then where, one may ask, is this conflict of the two

authorities more plainly exhibited, than in the very centre of the Roman Church itself, though they are apparently united in one person? The Pope, elected himself in a conclave of Cardinals, under the political influence of the ministers of the first-rate powers, contends as a sovereign, especially at the present time, with his subjects; and while gaining accession of strength spiritually in England, finds his authority decidedly failing him at Rome. And, in the meantime, it is impossible not to see that, while there is a decline of faith in the centre of spiritual government, the external influence also of the Pope must often depend on natural means, and more or less on his having peace at home,—if not in matters purely spiritual, yet at any rate in those in which the inward is necessarily bound up with the outward. I am not speaking now of his political relations with different powers; for he, too, as a sovereign, must observe "diplomatic caution," and sometimes will be involuntarily carried away by circumstances, as we have witnessed in the recent changes in Italy.

From these considerations we may conclude that the recognition of the Papal Headship over the whole Church, in that modern sense in which the Romans require it, instead of the ancient primacy of their See, cannot be an obligatory condition for the salvation of an orthodox Christian, who is solidly acquainted with the Canons of the Œcumenical Councils; since they have not laid down any such dogma as the basis of the government of the Church.

But, ask the Romans, (who do not understand the possibility of any ecclesiastical union outside of their Patriarchate, owing to their too material way of looking

at the spiritual union of faith) how it is to be preserved? and where is the unity of the East? If it is not so palpable as the Roman, owing to its not being drawn, in contravention of the Canons, to one monarchical human centre, and consisting not of one Patriarchate, but of several, still it may be clearly seen in their synodal union, based on the observance of the ancient Œcumenical constitutions, to say nothing of the complete unity of doctrines and ceremonies. Let us look more particularly into this synodal government, and let us consider whether it agrees with the ancient; and we shall be convinced that thus it was that the union of the Church was preserved in all preceding ages.

What was said in the last Œcumenical Council at Nicæa of the dignity, and of the requisites for the regularity, of such Councils? That it was indispensably necessary that there should be present in them representatives of all the orthodox Patriarchal Sees, though at that time three of the four Eastern Patriarchates were already under the yoke of the Saracens. This rule is still held to by the East; and it does not call its councils œcumenical, though the four Patriarchs often assemble together for the decision of important doctrinal questions, as the bond of faith uniting them is unbroken.

What was granted by the Fourth Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon to the Chair of Constantinople? A primacy over all the other Eastern Chairs after the Roman, with the final decision of ecclesiastical controversies, though still there was recognised an equality of order among the Patriarchs. We see this rule still observed with the utmost exactness in the East. On the

least doctrinal difficulty arising, the Patriarch of Constantinople convokes his brethren to that city, or writes with their concurrence an encyclic, though he has under his spiritual jurisdiction as many as two hundred Bishops and ten million Christians, while the Patriarch of Alexandria has only ten thousand, and two Bishops; and yet the latter stands second after him, and acts as being altogether an equal. Again, the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, though their chairs in the present state of things are of much more importance than that of Alexandria, do not contend with it for precedence; nor does the Chair of Constantinople, which is so incomparably more powerful than they all, lord it over them. Consequently, there may be an union, synodal and according to the Canons, of the Patriarchal Sees among themselves, without any exclusive dominion of one of them over all the rest; and this synodal constitution harmonises with the very name of the Catholic—that is, collective—Church, rather than monarchy.

What was it that the Third Œcumenical Council at Ephesus so strictly prohibited? The making of any change in the Creed, or invasion by Bishops of dioceses not belonging to them; while it confirmed the independence of Cyprus from Antioch. And what do we see now? To say nothing now of the religious preservation of the Creed in its integrity, Cyprus continues to this day to have its independent Archbishop, over whom neither the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch nor that of the Patriarch of Constantinople extends: to such a point is reverence for the decrees of the General Synods carried. As regards the Patriarchal Chairs themselves, there have been for each of

them in recent times occasions which showed how the Œcumenical constitutions respecting them are still observed. The late Patriarch of Jerusalem, Athanasius, died at Constantinople, after having designated as his successor the Archbishop of Mount Tabor, Hierotheus; but the Turkish Government required that the Patriarch of Constantinople should name another Patriarch for Jerusalem. Then the whole community of the Holy Land protested against such an irregularity, and obtained what they wished by electing one from among themselves, the Bishop of Lydda, Cyril, to be Patriarch of the Holy City, agreeably to all the Canons of the Councils. Some years later, on the death of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Hierotheus, an intention was evinced at Constantinople to nominate a Patriarch, on the ground of their being no Bishops in Egypt; but the Church of Alexandria chose to elect some one from among themselves. And so, according to the ancient order, three Bishops were sent from the three Patriarchal Sees of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, to Alexandria, to consecrate from among the Clergy there a new Patriarch, named (like his predecessor) Hierotheus. Quite recently, on the death of the Patriarch of Antioch, Methodius, all the Bishops subject to his vacant chair, not finding among themselves any one competent to succeed to his place, applied by letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople to select for them a suitable Pastor. The Patriarch, after consulting with his brother of Jerusalem and with his Synod, gave them Hierotheus, who had, on a former occasion, been elected for Jerusalem. And so, even under the Turkish yoke, notwithstanding the calamities of the times, the Hierarchical constitu-

tions are religiously maintained and observed. We must add, that in the Eastern Church there exists not, even to the present day, any other code of Canon Law than the collection of those Canons of the Œcumenical and Provincial Councils, and of the Holy Fathers, which were confirmed in the Sixth and Seventh Œcumenical Councils, with scarcely any additions; so that, whenever Eastern Synods assemble (which occurs sufficiently often on any grave emergency), it is impossible to distinguish them from the ancient Synods, either as regards the forms employed, or as regards the hierarchy which has preserved all the ancient Sees, or as regards language, or as regards sacred vestments. Is not this a happy thing to see in our times?

Let us be sincere and candid in a matter which touches conscience. The Romans may reproach us with this, that while the elections of the other Patriarchs are so canonical, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who are at the head of all, have often, especially in later times, been changed at the arbitrary will of the Porte. This state of things is certainly very painful, though it is now improving: but can this be made an accusation against the Greek Church? The putting to death and persecution of her chief pastors is a consequence of the Mahometan yoke, which has repeatedly given occasion to martyrdoms, to the glory of the same Church. But though the Patriarchs are in fact deposed and changed through the violence or intrigues of the chief officers of the Porte, and what is still more grievous, of Ambassadors of heterodox powers, for their attachment to orthodoxy, as in recent time Constantius, Gregory, Germanus, and Anthimus, (though this latter is now

again sitting as Patriarch), notwithstanding all this, their appointment is by synodal election, and according to the ancient order. It is no one else than the Metropolitan of Heraclea, who gives the pastoral staff to the new Patriarch, because Byzantium was once within his diocese. We see Patriarchs deposed from, and again restored to, the oppressed See of Constantinople, but we have never seen three Prelates at one and the same time sitting, and contending for it one against another, as was the case continuously for more than half a century with the See of Rome.

This circumstance however is irrelevant to the question of the unity of the Catholic Church. We have seen the perfectness of its union between the four Patriarchal Sees. Let us now say something also of its other parts. Not long ago, in the new kingdom of Greece, a Governing Synod was synodically recognized by all the Patriarchs in union however with them, in like manner as from of old the Archbishops of Cyprus and Mount Sinai have had the privilege of independence. The Metropolitans of the two Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and of Servia, while nearly independent in their own countries, still receive their ordination at Constantinople. The spiritual head of the Servians in the Austrian provinces, who owing to political circumstances does not receive his appointment from the chair of Constantinople, is elected, and governs his Suffragan Bishops according to the Canons of the Council of Nicæa; and also because he has the privileges of the former Patriarchs of Servia, who were recognized in the Middle Ages by the Œcumenical Patriarchs: but the spiritual communion between the Servians and

the Greeks is unbroken, and Priests coming from Constantinople and its neighbourhood are readily received in the Churches of Servia. The Vladika of Montenegro, who also, owing to political circumstances, does not go to Constantinople, having no suffragan Bishops, is ordained by the Russian Synod. The ancient Church of Georgia, which from her very origin was governed independently by Catholici of her own in spiritual union with Constantinople, is now under the direction of the Russian Synod: but her Exarch, who has succeeded to the place of the former Catholicos, governs the five suffragan sees which are subject to his own.

Lastly, let us speak of the Russian Church, which from some outlying peoples committed at the Council of Chalcedon to the pastoral care of the Patriarch of Constantinople, has expanded to so vast a size that it exceeds all the Eastern Patriarchates put together, as if to make up for the grievous separation of the West. By the providence of God it had reached the full measure of its growth, and was freed from the Mahometan yoke at the very time at which the Eastern Sees fell under it: and on this account the Œcumenical Patriarchs themselves declared it independent of their see, and honoured it with a fifth Patriarchal chair, as if to replace the Roman, keeping up however close communion and communication with it, often even by personal assistance at its Councils. And when a hundred years ago, at the time of the changes wrought by Peter the Great, the Eastern Patriarchs, on the request made to them by a letter from the Tsar, consented that a permanent Synod should be substituted for the individual Patriarch, they authorized this form of spiritual govern-

ment as agreeable to the Œcumenical Canons, keeping up with us their former communion. Besides continual alms which are sent from Russia to all the sees and convents of the East, Bishops of the three Patriarchal chairs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, from time to time, visit and stay in our elder capital, and the two latter of the three have metóchia or lodges there. Besides this, in the case of any events of importance occurring, or ecclesiastical questions arising, mutual communications are made by synodal letters; as, for instance, in the affair of the reunion of the Uniats, and on occasion of the recognition of the Greek Synod, or in the question of the Holy Places. Consequently, the Romans have no just ground of complaint when they reproach the Eastern Church with being broken up into separate fragments and with want of unity. The essential union of faith, of dogma and ceremonies, is unbroken, and besides this there are manifest relations in certain cases which call for mutual concert and recognition. The difference in respect of mutual union consists in this, that, in the Roman Patriarchate, this consists in the relation of a head to members, according to their new order of things, whereas with us it is a brotherly equality, after the example of the Primitive Church, and does not require the conditions of subjection which have become necessary in the monarchical system of Rome: but this there is no sort of disposition to understand among the Romans, who seek only to subject everything to their head.

The most edifying spectacle which the Roman Church has to offer us, consists in her numerous missions to China, Australia, and America, and in the zeal with

which her missionaries, trained on purpose, in the College of the Propaganda, and supported by collections made in the different states of Europe, compass the whole world. At this we ought certainly to rejoice together with her, and thank GOD, Who through her spiritual efforts is enlightening the heathen world. I say "the heathen," because she can make little impression on the Mahometan. This is rather given to her Eastern sister. But while we rejoice at the conversion of so many heathens, it is impossible not to be pained in spirit, to see how an erroneous persuasion of salvation being given only and exclusively in the bosom of the Roman Church, leads her into persecuting and altogether uncanonical proceedings with respect to her Eastern sister. S. Paul, who praised in his time the faith of the Romans, said of himself that he did not build on another man's foundation, but preached there where as yet no one had been before him to announce the Name of CHRIST. But the Roman missionaries, preaching in the East, which lies suffering under the Mahometan yoke, seek not the conversion of the Mahometans who are defended by the civil power, but the perversion of the orthodox Christians of the four Patriarchates, into which the Papal power has no right to extend itself. They preach there not the Name of CHRIST, but the Headship of the Pope. In contravention of the Œcumenical laws, which forbid the setting up of two Bishops in one see, and the intrusion of Bishops into dioceses not belonging to them, the Roman Pontiff appoints titular Patriarchs and Bishops of sees which are already legitimately filled, and so causes fresh vexations in addition to those which the ortho-

dox Church endures from the infidels with martyr firmness, though no man can reproach her with having swerved from the purity of doctrine.

The LORD will judge between the two Churches, for such a breach of charity on the part of the Western; which, instead of extending Christianity, only occasions scandals among the Mahometans, and turns them away from the light of the truth. Even to the present day there is still kept up before their tribunals an incessant strife for the possession of the Holy Places at Jerusalem, where the Westerns have forced themselves into the inheritance of the Easterns, on the ground of their exclusive Catholicity. While we give due praise to the zeal of Rome in heathen countries, we cannot avoid noticing also how greatly they sin against their brethren the Christians in Mahometan lands.

Let us examine what is the present state of missionary enterprize in the Eastern Church. Is it true that vital energy has altogether failed in the East from the time that the Western Church fell away? We will again begin with the four Patriarchal chairs, as from the root. Can we in conscience require of them that they should proselytize, when they have been now for four centuries struggling in a bloody sweat for the preservation of Christianity within the dominions of the Mahometan, where the Romans themselves show no disposition to attempt it? And in the meantime how many martyrs of all ages and conditions, of the pastors and of the people, have there not been during that time to shed a glory round the Eastern Church? As many as a hundred modern martyrs have been fearlessly distinguished by public commemorations and anthems in

the services of the Church, notwithstanding the dominion of the infidels; and who can count the thousands who have suffered, without being so distinguished by name, for their confession of the faith during those four centuries of servitude, to say nothing of the persecution occasioned by the Greek insurrection in 1821? In that year the Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople was hanged before the doors of his cathedral church, on Easter Day, and all the members of his Synod before the doors of their dwellings, though they might any of them have saved their lives, if they would have consented to betray their flock. Another Patriarch, Cyril, they hanged at Adrianople. The Archbishop of Cyprus, Cyprian, with his three Bishops, and all the Hegumens of convents on the island, were hanged on one tree before the palace of the former kings, and were long left hanging on it like fruits ripened for eternity. A multitude of other Prelates and Superiors were massacred in the islands and in Anatolia, and all the holy mountain of Athos was devastated, but still none apostatized from the faith of CHRIST. Are not such martyrdoms the best proselytism, seeing that by such in the first three ages and in the same regions was founded the Catholic Church? How can the Romans, who have nothing similar to suffer among themselves, persist in affirming that among people who could so die for the faith there is no real spiritual life? The involuntary disorders of the Greek Church, engendered of her long servitude and poverty, are as nothing in the balance against the bright crowns of martyrdom which have again adorned the venerable unbending brows of her orthodoxy. Why do they still send into her territories their titular Patriarchs, Bishops

and missionaries, to confirm her in the true faith, as if she had not shown by experience the firmness of her belief?

The Romans are fond of repeating that the Eastern Church has lost her vitality and power to propagate the faith, from the moment when she separated herself from her true root,—i. e., from the Roman See. But how was it in the time of the Patriarch Photius, and after him, that the light of Christianity was diffused so abundantly from Constantinople over all the North, and so many tribes of the Bulgarians, the Slavonians, and the Russians received Christianity, rejecting all the invitations of the West? Is not this a living and active refutation of the unfounded accusation of Rome? And in the very bosom of the Russian Church, which has grown up with such glory out of the lap of the Church of Constantinople, and has more than counterbalanced by her greatness all the calamities of the East, are there not at work the same loving principles of extension of Christianity as in this, though by different means than in the Roman, owing to a difference of circumstances? Rome acts through her numerous missionaries sent by her to all parts of the world. The Russian Church, properly so called, as being dominant in an immense empire, diffuses gradually the light of CHRIST within her own limits, out of which she has no reason to go; because it is a more immediate duty to convert her own heathen, Jews, Mahometans, and schismatics, scattered over the surface of the ninth part of the globe, than to compass sea and land to make proselytes. Why go into foreign countries, when within our own there is an abundant harvest? Every year there are conversions among us by thousands.

If we have no central school or Propaganda like that at Rome, still in those dioceses where there are heathens or Mahometans of different races their languages are taught in the seminaries, in order that the parochial Clergy may be qualified to act as missionaries, besides such as may be exclusively devoted to this work. With us the convents themselves, too, which are scattered about our wilds, serve for nurseries of Christianity; and from them was enlightened the whole North of Russia, and all Siberia, which we conquered in a state of heathenism. Two zealous Metropolitans of Tobolsk, Theodore and John, in the time of Peter the Great, baptized all the Ostiacks, going about among their wigwams, and founding in the midst of them the monastery of Condiesk. But what Western knows anything about this? What Western hears anything of the truly apostolical labours of the Archbishop of Kamchatka, Innocent, who is continually sailing over the ocean, and drives in reindeer sledges about his vast unpeopled diocese, ten thousand versts in extent, everywhere baptizing the natives, for whom he has introduced the use of letters, and has translated the Gospel in the Aleoutian tongue. Some missions have been planted by him in Northern America, and its wild natives flock to the shores of their rivers, as in the first times of Christianity, seeking holy Baptism. On the southern borders of Siberia success, though silent, attends the missions founded by another labourer, now asleep in CHRIST, the Archimandrite Macarius. But all this is hidden behind the immensity and wildness of the tracts themselves which their preaching has for its sphere; while in the West every step of its missionaries is announced to the

whole world. Russia acts otherwise. She sows the seeds of Christianity on the vast field which is constantly widening before her, by the institution of new parishes, which of themselves naturally become missions. This order of things has nothing of novelty or effort, and so people talk less about it; but in point of fact, gradually, though not so strikingly as in the West, the very same fruits are produced. When and how have so many thousands of our heathens been converted? It is not every one that knows: but meanwhile they are already in the actual enjoyment of Christian enlightenment and civil society. But there is still much left to be done for the perfect conversion and settlement in the faith of many tribes remaining in darkness, and the Church ceases not to act upon them. So, for instance, news has been received of the Baptism in Georgia of fifteen hundred families of Ingiloitsi, a tribe which some centuries back were forced away into Islamism; and they still continue to baptize Calmucks in the diocese of Astrachan, and Samoyedes in that of Archangel, at the opposite extremities of the vast Russian Empire, for the hope of gaining whom the missionaries go about in reindeer sledges, and with a tent-church.

Is it not manifest how unjustly the East is now reproached by the Western Church with a certain supposed deadness, which is so supposed and objected by the Westerns merely because they know not what is doing, and take their own ignorance as proof that there is nothing to know, and found on this only one of their refutative arguments against us? But the truth is otherwise. The same conditions of spiritual life show

themselves in the East as in the West, only under somewhat different forms.

These two points, however, of missionary energy and of ecclesiastical government, whether monarchical or synodal, are both properly hierarchical questions; and though in the West they ascribe to the latter of the two a dogmatical importance, for the sake of general unity, still it does not touch the heart of every individual Christian so closely as does the worship of God itself, through which properly every believer is united with the Church; for it is by daily participation in this and by frequent prayers that he is united as a member into the body of the Church. And so in this matter let us consider more attentively, where are rather to be found the true conditions of peace to our souls and salvation, —in the ritual of the Western Church, or in that of the Eastern. Let us begin again with the former, and compare the two together.

I will not speak of the gradual changes which have been made in the outward ritual of the Roman Church; while, by the confession of the Westerns themselves, the Eastern has kept herself outwardly in the same form which she wore in the fifth century, which is even ascribed to that supposed deadness which they impute to her. What I will speak of is the Latin language, which, being now a dead language for all Europe, and even for Rome itself, has nevertheless been made the necessary condition of its worship, though no one of the congregation, it may be, understands it. Is it not a strange thing that, in order to follow reasonably the order of the service, devout Christians should be forced to have recourse to little books of prayers, and to read

prayers instead of hearing them? Is it possible to compare the one way to the other? and is there not manifestly a greater unity of prayer in a united unbroken attention, than in individual separate reading, where the words uttered by the Priest are continually out of place? Hence have come what are called low or abbreviated masses, in which the whole act of Divine Worship is performed in a quarter of an hour or little more, and is only beheld as a spectacle by the congregation, who take no reasonable part in it; for it is only the reasonable expression of speech which is fully intelligible to the reasonable creature which has the gift of speech. Hence one finds to a great extent, in Romish Churches, even when Divine Service is going on, people kneeling at totally different altars, instead of that where the service is being performed; or people praying in an empty Church, without any service at all, because for them the service is unheard and unintelligible: I mean in the case of low masses. As for the matin and vesper services, they, except on the eves of great festivals, are performed by the Clergy alone, and are altogether unapproachable for the laity who cannot understand them.

What comparison can there be between this and our solemn, or even our ordinary daily service, where really every word is intelligible in our native Slavonian tongue, and where the common people know by heart all the prayers and anthems, and repeat them after the Clergy and choirs? Here we see a reasonable understanding of the Divine Service, and an actual participation in it, and not merely a show made of it, with genuflexions at the sound of a hand-bell; it being, without such signals,

impossible to distinguish even the most solemn moments of the celebration. If they instance, as a sign of religiousness among the Romans, the fact that in the West the churches are always open, and people to be seen praying in them, this is properly to be ascribed to the defect that the people there do not participate in Divine worship at the regular hours, but go at random when they are inclined. I do not think that, after a four hours' vigil or a two hours' liturgy, the Romans (who would probably be quite fatigued) would go, or remain to pray, over and above in the empty church. But for such kind of private prayer we also have chapels and oratories, and the open porches of the larger churches.

We may allow that in the churches of the West there is something agreeable in the sounds of the organs, which have now become in a manner associated with Divine worship, though still there is no comparison between soul-less instruments and the singing of living voices. But how can one listen patiently to other instruments playing musical compositions of the theatre at the celebration of the awful Mysteries? And is it not shocking to hear the same music in the morning in the house of God, and at night in the theatre? Let any one dispassionately compare the spiritual propriety and dignity of the pontifical service of the Eastern Church with that of the Western, and then say which of the two is more convenient? I am aware that every one finds more satisfaction in that form of worship to which he has been used from childhood, and I will not enter into any discussion about this. Let us consider, however, how it is united with all the chief points or

passages of the Christian life. And here from ritual we rise to speak of Sacraments.

When a Christian of the Roman confession dies, all his nearest relatives immediately cast him off, abandoning him to the charity or negligence of a Burial Fraternity. So, at least, they do at Rome, the centre to which others have to look for a good example. The relatives are not present even at the interment, and when the body has been cast into the limed pit of the cemetery, they assemble in the church for a funeral service. Is there any comparison between such coldness and the affection with which, among us, they encompass the dead, as if he were yet living, with frequent Pannychid Services, the continual reading of the Psalter, and the touching Burial Service? If this is to be referred to national manners, still we must remark that it is the church life which forms those manners; and in the commemorations themselves of the tenth and fortieth days, and of the anniversaries, there is much more attention paid to the memory of the departed in the Eastern Church than in the Western. How touching and edifying in the Liturgy is the custom of bringing oblations to the sanctuary, that the Priest may take from them particles at the Table of Prothesis for the living and for the dead, which are afterwards immersed in the Blood of CHRIST, with prayer that the LORD may wash away with it the sins of them that are so commemorated! So the people actually take part in the sacrifice, offering, according to the ancient order, their gifts at the altar, a custom which has long been lost in the West, though they have there also votive masses for the dead, but not such daily participation in prayer for them open to every common

person. On which side is there more of the spirit of Christian love?

We shall speak of the different order followed in the two Churches in ecclesiastical matters, which brings us now to the Sacrament of the Eucharist itself. Though it is exceedingly reverenced among the Romans, still every layman is allowed to approach it without any special preparation, if he has only confessed the same morning before receiving it. Is not this a fearful sort of liberty? What a difference there is in the Eastern Church! Though with us it is permitted, in cases of urgency, to communicate at any time, still ordinarily and by preference it is our rule to approach the Holy Mysteries at the time of the [four great] Fasts, or even monthly, and that not without a special preparation by prayer of from three days' to a week's continuance. During this time they who are preparing themselves are required to go thrice a day to Divine Service, to Matins, Liturgy, or Hours, and Vespers; and further, to hear read before confession as well as again before actual communion the appointed Canons and Prayers.

But it is not only the preparations to Holy Communion which are abridged in the Roman Church: the Sacrament itself is but half administered; that is to say, under the species of bread alone. Is not this usage contrary to the commandment of the Lord Himself, Who instituted the Communion in both kinds, under terms so formal—*Drink ye all of it?* Strange discrepancy! The Romans insist with all their might on the verbal force of the expressions, "Thou art Peter;" "Feed My sheep;" where they gratify themselves by finding an exclusive sense favourable to the supremacy of the Pope,

and neglect, with incredible levity, supported by the practice of so many ages, the command, *Drink ye all of it.* How can they elude the words of JESUS CHRIST, related by S. John: "Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and *drink His Blood,* ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh, and *drinketh My Blood,* hath eternal life. For My Flesh is meat indeed, and *My Blood is drink indeed.* He that eateth My Flesh, and *drinketh My Blood,* dwelleth in Me and I in him."

The Roman Church justified this error, introduced in the Middle Ages, by pretending that where is the Flesh there also is the Blood, and that consequently those who communicate under one kind participate in the benefits of both. What rashness to be so venturous in this kind of interpretation, when the words of the LORD are so precise! How can you, after this, condemn the Protestants and the Reformed, who attach their own interpretation to words which do not stand in more need of it, *This is My Body, and this is My Blood,* and do away with their radical and absolute sense? The decree of the Council of Constance in 1414 regarding the Holy Eucharist may teach us how dangerous it is to depart from primitive order.

"In some parts of the world it has been rashly taught that Christian men ought to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist under the two kinds of Bread and Wine; and that the laity may thus communicate, even without previous fasting, contrary to the laudable custom of the Church, which they disapprove and term sacrilegious; wherefore this present Council of Constance declares and decides that, notwithstanding JESUS CHRIST instituted the Venerable Sacrament of the

Supper, and administered it to His disciples under both kinds, yet following the Holy Canons and approved customs, the Church ordains that the Eucharist should not be consecrated after a meal, nor received by the faithful unless fasting, except in case of sickness or other necessity.

"And although in the primitive Church all the faithful received this Sacrament under both kinds, yet at a later period, to avoid certain perils and scandals, the custom has been wisely introduced that the celebrant alone should communicate under both kinds, and the laity under that of bread only, because it is of the faith that the whole Body and the whole Blood of JESUS CHRIST is contained under each of the two kinds. Wherefore this custom having been with good reason introduced by the Church, and long observed, it ought to pass for a law which it is not lawful to reject or to change, without the authority of the Church. They then that obstinately maintain the contrary ought to be repressed as heretics, and rigorously punished by the Diocesan bishops or the Inquisitors."

The Romans reply that the Eastern Church is also in the habit of administering the Communion under one kind, and especially in the case of the sick and in the Liturgy of the Presanctified.[1] But in these two cases the Bread has been dipped beforehand in the Divine Blood. In the same way, in the first ages, the Body of the LORD was carried to the Ascetics in the desert, and to the Confessors in their prisons. Besides, granting

[1] The Liturgy of the Presanctified, or, as it is otherwise called from an uncertain reason, that of S. Gregory the Dialogist, that is, the Great, is the Liturgy used on Good Friday, when there is no consecration.—ED.

even that in a case of extremity this Sacrament might be administered under one kind, such a case cannot become the ordinary rule, and thus inflict on the faithful the deprivation of that Divine Blood which was shed for them.

It is not, then, a matter immaterial to salvation,—this arbitrary privation. What can you put in the place of the "Cup of the New Testament," which the LORD instituted, as an indispensable condition to eternal life? Here, as in so many other ways, the Orthodox Church has a great advantage over that of Rome; for she has preserved intact the commandment of the LORD, Who said in the Last Supper, "Drink ye all of it." This one circumstance is sufficient to prove that the Orthodox Church of the East presents more means of salvation than that of the West; since the latter, which makes communion with her Patriarch an indispensable condition of salvation, fears not to deprive the faithful of the half of their communion with GOD. It is terrible to reflect where a single error may lead; and the words of S. Gregory the Great unavoidably recur to the mind: "When he who calls himself Universal Bishop falls into error, there would remain no Bishop who stood firm in the truth: I pray you to keep your Churches such as you have received them."

Nor has the Church of Rome confined herself to this error—an error exposed by the constant practice of fourteen centuries. It is not for more than three hundred years that she has deprived all little children of the Communion, under the pretence that they cannot comprehend all the importance of the Sacrament. She forgets the words of reproach addressed by JESUS

CHRIST to the disciples who would not that children should approach Him: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of Heaven." Adults, even those who perfectly comprehend the Holy Eucharist, are they more worthy of communion than those whose angels—to use the words of CHRIST Himself—do alway behold the face of His FATHER Which is in heaven? Like Him, the Orthodox Church shows herself full of solicitude for her little children, and admits them to the participation of the Divine Mystery; where, by the prayers of their parents, they often find a remedy against physical diseases. It is not in vain that JESUS CHRIST said, "Drink ye all of it;" for He well knew that infants were not capable of the receiving of His Divine Body.

Nor is the negligence of the Romans with respect to the ancient Canons relative to the Sacraments confined here. The Middle Ages opened a wide door to arbitrary alteration on many points of ecclesiastical discipline. Thus, under pretence that children ought first to be established in the dogmas of the faith, they kept them away from the holy table till they were seven years old. Hence it often happens that children participate in the highest mystery without being established in the faith, since they are often communicated without having ever received the Sacrament of Confirmation. In France this may even be said to be generally the case. This arises from the fact that, according to the practice of the Roman Church, the Bishop alone has the right of confirming the faithful; and as it is not always possible for him to visit his flock, a large proportion of his sheep reach an advanced age before they receive this Sacra-

ment, and sometimes die without it, although they have been admitted to communion. Is it possible to conceive a greater infraction of natural order? Those who have not received the anointing of the HOLY SPIRIT, by which we merit the very name of Christians (for the word Christians simply means Anointed Ones), are admitted to the highest communion with the LORD by the participation of His Divine Body. Is it then without reason that this Sacrament has been given next to Baptism for a basis of the Christian faith, as communicating to us the gifts of the HOLY GHOST, and preparing us for a closer communion with our GOD?

Again let us admire the wisdom of the Orthodox Church, in allowing, as she does to every priest when he has baptized an infant, to communicate to that infant, at the same time, the gifts of the HOLY GHOST, by anointing it with holy chrism. And as this chrism is always consecrated by a Bishop, the result is that the rule of the Church by which only a Supreme Pastor must confirm, receives its full effect, the Priest being here only the intermediary of the Bishop. There is this further advantage, that the newly-born infant can itself be admitted to Holy Communion, and that without the violation of any fundamental law. Again I ask, In which Church are the means of salvation the more abundant?

The habit of abridging everything is thoroughly Roman. A consequence of this habit is that the Latins have changed in Baptism the ancient immersion, expressed by the very word *baptisma*, into aspersion; an innovation which the Oriental Church has never ceased to oppose. Doubtless Baptism by aspersion is valid; but it

was never conferred except in extreme necessity, as, for example, from the want of water, or in case of sickness. How can this manner of Baptism be without need elevated into the normal practice?

We must further remark the irregular application of the Sacrament which the Latins improperly call extreme unction, and which they only confer on the dying. The Apostle S. James expresses himself, however, in terms sufficiently formal respecting this holy unction. "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the LORD. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the LORD shall raise him up." Thus the Eastern Church administers this Sacrament as the first means of cure, as well spiritual as bodily; and does not wait till the last moment, as the Latins erroneously do.

We have yet to speak of two other abuses introduced by the Middle Ages in the Sacrament of Orders. Firstly, the Roman Church, in contempt of the holy Canons, which forbid the ordination of more than one Priest and one deacon in a single Liturgy, ordains many at a time; but let that pass. The second abuse is the celibacy of the clergy, equally contrary to the ancient laws of the Church. Rejected by the first Œcumenical Council, condemned by the Sixth, as contrary to the decrees of the Apostles, celibacy was imposed by Gregory VII. as an inseparable condition of the priesthood. Agreed, that the celibacy of priests gives them more power to act in the interest of the Church, more especially if they are penetrated with Apostolic zeal; but, on the other hand, does it not involve them in untold

dangers? And can it be expected that at all times and in all places so large a number of men can be found sincerely devoted to spotless continence? It is allowed that this question is one of the most difficult in the Roman Church, and in her very bosom she numbers countless opponents. The Eastern Church has shown her prudence by permitting marriage to the two inferior grades of the hierarchy, and only interdicting it to the highest. I am well aware that the Romans reproach us with the contrary extreme, the obligation of marriage for Priests; but that is a vulgar error. The Eastern Church has no unchangeable law [1] on the subject; nay, on a recent occasion she received a number of celibate Priests who quitted the Union [2] for Orthodoxy. In the Greek Church the law no longer exists.

There exists in the Roman Church an innovation of very different importance, of which we must speak: it no longer has to do with discipline,—it touches dogma: we mean the controversy regarding the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Perhaps this abstract question may appear to some indifferent: to us it appears extremely important, and not to be passed over in silence.

[1] The custom in Russia is as follows:—A parish priest must necessarily be married before his ordination; if he loses his wife, the almost universal custom is that he enters a monastery. Rare cases have occurred in which he has been permitted to retain his cure. But if he professes himself incapable of a celibate life, he may marry again, only in that case he gives up every function of the Priesthood.—Ed.

[2] The writer is referring to the reception in the year 1839, by the Orthodox Church, of the three Bishops, the fourteen hundred Priests, and the three millions of faithful belonging to the Uniat Church in White Russia, the greatest blow since the Reformation that Rome ever received. This was brought to pass in the Council of Polotsk, under the presidency of Joseph Siemaszko, then Bishop, now Metropolitan, of Lithuania.

The Orthodox Church of the East understands that feeble human reason cannot penetrate the mysteries of the Divine Essence, or accommodate them to its conceptions: consequently, she keeps the terms of the Œcumenical Canons; and from the very beginning has professed the dogma of the Procession of the HOLY GHOST, such as she has received it in Scripture. "When the Comforter is come, Whom I will send unto you from the FATHER, even the SPIRIT of Truth, Which proceedeth from the FATHER, He shall testify of Me." Basing its teaching on the precise words of the LORD Himself, whence it so clearly results that the eternal procession of the HOLY GHOST is from the FATHER alone, and only His temporal mission from the SON, the Second General Council thus completed the Creed of Nicæa: "I believe in the HOLY GHOST, the LORD and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the FATHER, Who with the FATHER and the SON together is worshipped and glorified," &c. The Third General Council strictly forbade the addition or subtraction of anything to or from the symbol of the second, the Catholic doctrine being there sufficiently expressed. The Romans nevertheless did not consider themselves bound by the precise Canon of the Council of Ephesus, and in the ninth century added the *Filioque* to the ancient profession of the faith.

But at the Council of Florence, the Latins, to justify this extra-canonical addition, alleged the necessity of rendering more clear the dogma of the Procession, and asserted that without doubt the ancient Fathers understood the words *and from the Son*, although they were not expressed. Then Mark of Ephesus, the great champion of Orthodoxy, exerted himself energetically

against such allegations; and after having read the symbol of Constantinople, presented this remarkable explanation of the dogma in question.

"Here we must remark the intention of the Holy Fathers, for the present words are the development of their theology. The Council intended to demonstrate clearly the method of the union of the HOLY GHOST with the FATHER and the SON. It is as if it had said, The HOLY GHOST is named with the FATHER and the SON as proceeding from the FATHER, but conjointly adored and glorified with the FATHER and the SON,—that is to say, as equal in honour and consubstantial with them. If the Council recognised a Procession from the two other Persons, why did it not say, Who proceeded from the FATHER and the SON, and with *them* is adored and glorified? But, as in the former case, when the Fathers intended to define the source of Procession, they did not mention the SON,—and in the second, when they intended to demonstrate the equality of glory and consubstantiality, they did mention Him,—thence it clearly results that they did not recognise the Procession in regard of the SON, otherwise they could not have failed to express it in their formula."

This is not the place to enter into the dogmatic discussions which wearied the Fathers of the Council of Florence: I will only notice the manner in which the schismatical addition was introduced in the West. Let us observe, in passing, that at the present day, a Western theologian, William Palmer, from his study of the question in the work of Adam Zoernikaff, has become convinced that the Roman addition was false. This Adam Zoernikaff was born in 1562, at Königsberg, in

the Lutheran religion, and applied himself to the study of theology. Having finished his course in the university of his native town, he then visited the principal places in Germany, England, France, Italy, Poland, everywhere searching for the truth, and at length came into Russia. He soon became convinced of the orthodoxy of our Church, and embraced the Catholicism of the East. Shortly afterwards he took the monastic habit, and fixed his abode at Kieff. There he wrote his treatise on the Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER alone. This book, full of unbounded learning, is equally noticeable for its moderation and impartiality. It was not published till after the death of the author, in two volumes, Königsberg, 1774.[1] Those who are desirous to study the question may further do so, in the Treatise on the HOLY GHOST, written in Latin, by Theophilus Procopovitch, and in the course of Orthodox Theology lately published by Macarius,[2] Bishop of

[1] The work of Zoernikaff is among the very rarest which a theologian can want, and ought to be reprinted. I have every reason to believe that the copy which I studied for my "Introduction to the Eastern Church" was the only one in England. No words can exaggerate the learning of Zoernikaff; it is only a pity that his quotations from the Greek Fathers are given in Latin.—ED.

[2] Macarius, called in the world Michael Bulgakoff, son of a Priest in the government of Koursk, was educated under the auspices of that Innocent whose Akathiston forms the last piece in the present volume. He first made himself known by his "History of the Academy of Kieff," afterwards by that of "Christianity in Russia till the time of Vladimir," still later by his "Introduction to Orthodox Theology," a translation of which has appeared at Paris, and by his "Dogmatic Theology," which is also about, I believe, to appear in French. Though not much more than forty, Macarius is an Archimandrite, Bishop of Vinnitza and Coadjutor of Podolia, and Rector of the Spiritual Academy of S. Petersburg.—ED.

Vinnitza. Procopovitch, Archbishop of Novgorod, born in 1681, and deceased in 1736, was one of the most illustrious Russians of the last century, endowed with vast erudition and rare sagacity. He has left, besides numerous theological treatises, an immense number of works on literature, history, politics, and jurisprudence. It was he who was charged by the Tsar Peter with the reply to the proposition of the Sorbonne for the union of the two Churches. When the Arian Goths founded a powerful kingdom in Spain, their miserable heresy, which denied the Consubstantiality of the WORD with the FATHER, maintained itself for many years in that part of Europe. In other Christian countries it soon disappeared, before the light of the illustrious Fathers of the Church, such as Athanasius and Basil, Gregory the Divine and John Chrysostom, Ambrose and Hilary, and the rest. The Bishops of Spain, on their side, used their utmost efforts in various councils to stifle heresy; but their zeal was not seconded by a deep study of the Fathers.[1] The principal error of the Arians consisted in this opinion, that the SON is not consubstantial with the FATHER: they based this assertion on this, among other proofs,—the Procession of the HOLY GHOST from the FATHER alone. The Spanish Prelates, from not having penetrated the full meaning of this Article, declared, in order to establish the perfect

[1] The extraordinary character of some of the Canons in the many Councils of Toledo fully justifies this remark; and the Spanish use of single instead of trine immersion, and the injunction, under pain of anathema, of the words, *and honour*,—Glory and honour be to the FATHER, in the usual doxology,—shows that the Spanish Prelates were given to the adoption of uses differing to those of the Catholic Church. —ED.

equality of the SON with the FATHER, that the HOLY GHOST proceeded equally from the SON. Thus, well-intentioned as they were, they confounded the eternal procession of the HOLY SPIRIT with His temporal emission from the SON, thus announced to His Apostles, "Receive ye the HOLY GHOST."

It escaped the notice of the Spanish Fathers that, though the Three Persons of the HOLY TRINITY possess the same substance and the same nature, they differ essentially in their attributes. Thus the eternal generation from the FATHER, and the Incarnation for our salvation, belong to the SON alone, in the same way that the Procession appertains to the HOLY GHOST. In order, then, that the Three Persons should be perfectly equal, it is no more necessary that the HOLY GHOST should proceed from the SON also, than it is that the SON should be begotten of the HOLY GHOST, as well as of the FATHER. The Spanish Prelates paid no attention whatever to the explicit Canon of Ephesus; and without even taking the trouble to inform the rest of the Church, they added a new dogma to the Catholic Creed.

This doctrinal innovation soon penetrated into France, and by degrees spread over all that part of the West which was submitted to Charlemagne; but, thanks to the orthodoxy of the Apostolic throne, it was refused admission into Italy. The Emperor, however, noticed the difference between the Creed chanted in his chapels and in the churches abroad.[1] To obliterate this differ-

[1] The history of the Mission from Charlemagne to S. Leo III. will be found given at length in my "Introduction to the Eastern Church," p. 1074.—ED.

ence, he requested Pope Leo III. to admit the Spanish addition. Then the Pope, who consecrated Charlemagne Emperor, and who has been canonised by the Roman Church, replied to the envoys: "I know not whether the admission of this word has been well done; neither can I say that the ancient Fathers have not understood matters as well as we do; because, far from preferring myself to them, I do not even pretend to be their equal. However good be an intention, we must take care not to spoil that which is good in itself by departing from the authorised manner of teaching, a thing not to be done without presumption. The Fathers, in forbidding to make any addition to the symbol, had no regard to good or bad intention; they forbade it absolutely, without even permitting us to inquire why they forbade it." Nor was this all: to preserve for ever the integrity of orthodoxy, the Pope caused the Creed of Nicæa, in Greek and in Latin, to be graven on two silver plates, which were fixed above the tomb of S. Peter.

Happy would it have been had the successors of Leo III. followed his example. But it was not so. The addition to the Symbol patronised by the Carlovingian dynasty insinuated itself by degrees into the Churches of Italy, without the possibility of the Pope's preserving the Creed inviolate. The Council, however, held in 879, at Constantinople, for the re-establishment of Photius in his See, at which the Legates of Pope John VIII. assisted, caused the Creed to be read in its unadulterated form; after which the following decree was passed: "If any man shall audaciously compose any other confession of faith than that which we have received from

the Fathers; if he shall dare to propose anything of his own invention for the sake of bringing contempt on the words of those holy persons, or shall present it to the faithful or to converted heretics as the common doctrine of the whole Church; if he shall presume to alter this venerable symbol by strange words, additions, or suppressions, we depose him, if he be a clerk, we anathematise him if he be a layman, according to the decrees of the Œcumenical Council."

At the end of the acts of this Council, we find a letter of Pope John to the Patriarch Photius, which exposes the difficulty which the Roman Church found from the addition to the symbol. "We are aware," writes the Pope, "of evil reports which you have heard of our Church and of us, and that not without some appearance of truth; but I had wished to set matters clear with you on this point before you wrote to me. You know that your envoy, having a short time ago consulted us regarding the symbol, found that we kept it such as we had received it, without addition and without subtraction, knowing well what punishment they would deserve who should act otherwise. And therefore we declare to you again, to give you the most perfect certainty with respect to this Article, which has caused so much scandal in the two Churches, that not only do we not speak thus,"—that is, use the addition,—"but as for those who had the insolence to be the first to do so, we consider them transgressors of the Word of God, corrupters of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles and Fathers who gave us the Creed; and we reckon them with Judas as lacerating the members of Jesus Christ, and devoting them with themselves to

eternal death. But I think that, wise as you are, you cannot be ignorant of the vast difficulty I find in bringing the rest of our Bishops to this sentiment, and in changing at once a usage of such importance, employed for so many years. For this reason we believe that it is not our duty to use force in compelling any person to quit the addition in question, but to use gentleness and management, exhorting men, little by little, to renounce this blasphemy. They, then, who accuse us of being in these sentiments, do not speak the truth; but those are not guilty of falsehood who affirm that there are among us persons who venture to use the addition. However, your fraternity must not be scandalised with us, nor keep aloof from the Communion of our Church; on the contrary, it is your duty to work in common with us, for the sake of bringing back by gentleness those who have departed from the truth."[1]

Is it not strange, then, that after two such forcible protestations from two Pontiffs, Leo III. and John VIII., the symbol of faith has nevertheless been altered in the Roman Church by the anti-canonical addition of *Filioque?* Fleury relates (Book lviii., ch. xxxviii.) that

[1] The retention of the *Filioque* in our Creed is probably the reason why English controversialists have so little dwelt on the Procession of the HOLY GHOST, in arguing against the Ultramontane Doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Leo III., not only a Pontiff, but a canonised Pontiff, engraves the unaltered creed on silver plates, to prevent its subsequent alteration; and, more marvellously still, John VIII., speaking *ex Cathedrâ*, brands that doctrine as *blasphemy* which the Roman Church now regards as a point of faith. How *can* Ultramontanism exist in the face of such historical evidence? John VIII., *ex Cathedrâ*, declares the Double Procession blasphemous: Pius IX., *ex Cathedrâ*, upholds it as of the Faith. How *can* both be infallible?—ED.

Henry II., Emperor of Germany, having come to Rome in 1014, to reinstate Pope Benedict VIII., driven out by an intruder, demanded of the Roman Priests why, after the Gospel, they did not chant the Creed as it was chanted in all other Churches. Their reply was that the Roman Church, never having been affected by any heresy, had no occasion to declare her faith by the Creed. Nevertheless, the Emperor persuaded Pope Benedict to have it sung at High Mass. This is recorded by Bernon, Abbat of Reichenau, who was present. Thus it was that, without any decision of a Council, and in opposition to every canonical rule, the addition of the *Filioque* was introduced into the Roman Church, together with the Creed, by the will of this Cæsar, who imposed it on the Pope.

After all this historical evidence, the reader may judge on which side is the truth; which party has gone astray from the profession of the Catholic Faith, and which has the better right to decorate itself with the title of Orthodoxy.

II.

THE GREAT MEN OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

II.

THE GREAT MEN OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

YOU have requested me to give you some account of the great men of our Church, now citizens of Heaven, who bravely resisting the storms which beset the infancy of our country, were its guides and oracles in their lifetime, and having now arrived at the port, are there resplendent in the beauty of holiness, and serve as beacon lights to all posterity. The task would be immense, were I to unroll before your eyes our brilliant ecclesiastical annals. A numberless army of Bishops, Martyrs, anchorets, rise from their solitary cells, from their forests, from their caves; where, while labouring to reach the Heavenly country, they never forgot the interests of their earthly homes; in times of peace, they were the pattern of all virtues, gave hope to penitents, refuge to sinners; at the first outbreak of war, at the first threat of infidel invasion, they brandished the sword of the Spirit, reconciled hate, renewed courage, pre-

dicted victories. These were the men of Heaven, these Angels of the earth, as the grateful Church names them in her hymns; and it would be rash indeed were I to profess to number all. I will only speak of those, who having occupied the metropolitical[1] throne of Kieff or Moscow, had the greatest influence over the destinies of our country,—or those who, without having been chiefs of the Church, edified and saved the State by their shining virtues.

From the first Metropolitan S. Michael, installed at Kieff by the Patriarch of Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction our Church then lay, till the times when, on account of political storms, our capital was transferred to Moscow, it was Byzantium that poured on us her floods of ecclesiastical light, through the medium of the great men whom she successively placed on the powerful see of our country. The two Metropolitans, Cyril and Maximus, righteous and enlightened prelates, rendered the most important services to Church and State, during the calamities occasioned by the invasion of the Mongols: for it was they who, reanimating prince and serf, rebuilt churches, assembled councils, reorganised the clergy, fortified the unity of the Russian Church amongst the multitude of little principalities of which the State was composed, and thereby contributed to the political oneness of the country. Their successor

[1] The Metropolitans of All the Russias sat at Kieff from 1072 till 1240: at Vladimir, from 1250 till 1308: at Moscow from 1328 to 1582 as Metropolitans; and, as Patriarchs till 1701. An excellent work on the Russian and Georgian Saints, to be completed in twelve volumes, is now appearing at S. Petersburgh, under the title of *Jetiia Sviat'ich', Rossieskoe Tserkvi: takje Iberschech' e Slavianskech'*.—ED.

was worthy of them. The Church of Moscow, made metropolitical, was established, so to speak, on a Rock. S. Peter was her first Bishop; and his precious relics are laid as the cornerstone of the cathedral in which from that time till the present our Sovereigns have betaken themselves to be crowned: it was in the midst of the calamities of that tempestuous epoch, that he predicted their immense empire. He himself had accompanied our princes, when they went as suppliants to the Golden Horde, for the purpose of obtaining privileges and guarantees. The Church, in the person of her Metropolitan, was respected by the Khans, and hence the veneration which these ferocious Mongols ever felt to our spiritual chiefs, as long as their empire existed.

S. Peter had scarcely been laid in his tomb, when another great man took the reins of the Church, and—we might say,—those of the State also. The principality of Moscow, kernel of the future empire, was menaced by powerful neighbours, who were desirous of snatching from Prince Demetrius his hereditary sceptre. S. Alexis himself went to the Horde to plead the cause of the child, destined one day to be the vanquisher of the Tatars. He there healed the mother of the Khan, and returned, covered with glory, to impose, by his sacred character, a check on the turbulent vassals, and to strengthen the bands of ecclesiastical unity, base of the empire's future greatness. In his last hour, he, at the approach of death, named as his successor, the humble hermit of the woods, the poor Sergius; who founded, at no great distance from the capital, a little community destined to play a great part in the annals of our country, as well by the virtues of its religious, as

by their patriotism, during the time of invasions, in the midst of troubles and invasions, during which it was the very soul of Russia.[1] The pious anchoret refused the pontifical throne; but his great soul animated the abbats, his successors, with the same patriotic spirit which had caused him to excite Prince Demetrius to the combat, by predicting his victory over the infidels, and causing him to be accompanied by two of his monks, true warriors under the monastic habit, and martyrs on the field of glory.

Byzantium fell soon after she had bestowed on us a last metropolitan in the person of the learned Photius. The Russian Bishops, thenceforth no longer able to seek investiture at Constantinople, assembled and consecrated S. Jonas, who during the civil battles of the State, had filled the sublime character of mediator, and has since his death been illustrious for more than one miracle; for, as says Holy Scripture, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Here appears the grand but ghastly figure of Ivan the Terrible, shadowing the half of a century. In the two portions of his reign, one brilliant with virtues and victories, the other blotted with crimes, rise at his side the majestic figures of two Bishops. The Metropolitan Macarius, guide and witness of the virtues of his Sovereign, a man of learning and study, seeks to revive civilization, drooping under the yoke of Tatar oppressors:

[1] Allusion is made to the Troitzko-Sergievsky Laura, near Moscow: which played a part in the national defence, that gave it a political importance immeasurably superior to that attained by any other monastery in any national history.

and S. Philip, martyr in the latter years of the Tsar, to whom he speaks the Word of God with authority, in the midst of the tyrant's massacres, and at length perishes the victim of his love to his flock.

Under Feodore Ivanovitch the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch came to Moscow, to raise its Metropolitan to the Patriarchate, legally enfranchising it from the yoke of Constantinople. This is the cause of the safety of our empire during the long troubles, which speedily thereafter broke out.

The extinction of the ancient dynasty of Rurick opened a free career to the ambition of princes and boyars: one Tsar rapidly succeeded another,—plots abounded,—subjects lost confidence in so rapid a succession of royal phantoms: a complete dissolution of the empire seemed inevitable; but the nation, not to be shaken in its faith, rallied round the chiefs of the Church in their character of political guides. The first three patriarchs are confessors or martyrs. Job is hunted from the patriarchal throne for his attachment to the family of the Godounoff. Hermogenes, flung by the rebels into a dungeon, dies there of hunger, rather than betray his country and his church in favour of Sigismund; and Philaret, Metropolitan of Rostoff, remains ten years a prisoner at Warsaw, whither he had been sent on a mission. He returned from his embassy covered with glory, and was consecrated Patriarch in the reign of his son Michael, first Tsar of the family of the Romanoff. The Pontiff-Father and King-Son, examples unparalleled in history, contributed most powerfully to the union of Church and State.

But what was it that delivered the empire from the

oppression of the Poles? Who inspired a dynastic choice, so happy in its result? The Abbey of S Sergius, a rock unshaken in a howling tempest, still standing, though in view of the smoking ruins of the capital. The eloquent voice of its Abbat, S. Dionysius, worthy representative of the canonized founder, and the zeal of Abraham Palitzin, excited all the country to stand to the defence,—they flew to arms,—placed at their head those magnanimous chiefs, Prince Pojarsky and the citizen Minini, appeased intestine discords, and presided at the election, an election unanimous, popular, and manifestly miraculous, of the young Michael. Further, it was these heroic cœnobites who crowned their work, by persuading the young Prince to accept the sceptre, and to occupy a throne shaken by so many tempests.

I should perhaps end at this culminating part of our ecclesiastical history, at this epoch unique in its character, were it not that I would fain introduce you to three other great personages; one, a Patriarch; the other two, holy Bishops. Nicon, the Patriarch, so celebrated for his misfortunes, employed all his energies in spreading the light of knowledge among his clergy and his people, in bringing books at great expense from Mount Athos and the Holy Land, in inducing the Patriarchs of the East to attend his Councils, in order to reorganize the Church, shaken by the recent troubles. The great character of Nicon shone forth in all its splendour when, Metropolitan of Novgorod, he appeased a popular sedition in that city at the cost of his own blood; and when, seated on the patriarchal throne, he became the intimate councillor of the

Tsar Alexis. The Tsar intrusted him with the reins of the State, and with the government of his own family, when called abroad by war. Nicon died holy and in peace, after fifteen years of exile, regretted deeply[1] by the reigning Tsar Theodore, whose Godfather he had been.

Under Peter the Great flourished two holy Bishops, ornaments of our Church: S. Demetrius, Metropolitan of Rostoff, celebrated for the great number of his writings, and for the zeal which he displayed, during the whole course of his life, in combating the schismatics; and S. Metrophanes, first Bishop of Voronej, a friend of the great reformer, whom he assisted to the utmost of his power in his gigantic efforts. With this new patron of our Church, who so worthily terminates the list of our Saints, I end, penetrated with deep gratitude to our LORD who ceases not, to edify, by faith, our great Russia, amidst the troubles and misbelief of Europe.

[1] This character of Nicon does infinitely less than justice to one of the most remarkable ecclesiastics that ever lived. Endued with the same gifts, and participating in the same spirit as Laud, S. Thomas of Canterbury, S. Cyril of Alexandria, he was not popular in his own times, nor has posterity yet appreciated him. The Church of Russia will not do herself justice till she reinserts his name in the diptychs.—ED.

III.

THE MISSION OF THE ALTAI.

LICENSED, OCTOBER 10, 1857, ON THE PART OF THE SPIRITUAL ACADEMY OF MOSCOW, BY THE CENSOR-PROFESSOR, THE ARCHPRIEST PETER DELITZIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSS.

PREFACE.

THE Roman Church constantly reproaches us with our want of Missions, and produces this accusation as one of the most convincing proofs of the sterility of our Church since her separation from the centre of union. It may not be useless to produce here, as one convincing proof against an assertion as unjust as unfounded, the account of one of our Missions. Carried on, it is true, on no vast scale, it is nevertheless touching on account of the zeal and sincerity of our missionaries.

We cannot compare with the Roman Propaganda. But, in that, we must distinguish between true missions, which have their operations among unbelievers, from those which are simply a mischievous proselytism, as all that is done in the East. There the Greek Uniats themselves revolted when it was attempted to force on them the Gregorian Calendar.

The collection of letters, written by the venerable Innocent, Archbishop of Kamschatka and the Aleou-

tines, to the Archbishop of Moscow, regarding his apostolic labours, now carried on during seventeen years, for the conversion of the savage people in North-East Siberia and American Russia, would afford a series of *Lettres édifiantes* as interesting as those of which the Jesuits are so fond. To this might be added the picture of the very recent conversion of the Bourial tribes in Central Siberia, with their chiefs and lamas, who had had already a sacerdotal organization.

Again: we might point to the reports of the present Exarch [1] of Georgia in the propagation of Christianity in the Caucasus, on both sides of the chain, where evangelical light makes way, though with difficulty, on account of the warrior spirit of the Circassians. The Mission to the Calmucks of Astrakhan and the Samoyedes of Arkhangel at the two extremities of Russia, might complete the interesting account.[2]

M. de Stourdza had undertaken a work of this kind, but died before accomplishing it. The first volume, sufficiently incomplete, has been published under the

[1] Isidore, Archbishop of Tiflis, Exarch of All Georgia.—ED.

[2] The writer might have added the most important Mission at Pekin, and that in Finland. In fact the history of Russian Missions would be a work of almost romantic interest. I have been told that Innocent, the above-named Metropolitan of Kamschatka, then only a Mission Priest in the Aleoutine Islands, happened to return to S. Petersburg for help, and was there introduced to the late Tsar. "Why not," said the Emperor to the Holy Governing Synod, "send him back as a Bishop to the scene of his labours?" "Your Majesty must consider," replied some of the old-fashioned prelates; "doubtless, he is a most excellent man, but he has no cathedral, no body of clergy, no episcopal residence!" "The more like an Apostle," was the Imperial reply; "cannot he be consecrated?"—And consecrated he was accordingly. —ED.

title of *Blagoviestnik*ᵉ,—Bearer of Good Tidings. It is however a good beginning, which might stop the mouth and open the eyes of those who have left us for Rome.

Note by the Editor.

The work of Alexander Skarlatovitch Stourdza has never, I believe, been translated from the Russ. A short account of it may not be without its interest to the reader. M. Stourdza himself, after a life spent in the promotion of religious works, died at Odessa in 1854. He thus commences his preface:

"The annals of Apostolic ministry, and the blessed teaching of orthodox Russian preachers, are not sufficiently known among us; partly perhaps for this reason, that there is nothing romantic in them; nothing that can divert the attention of the majority from the noisy spectacle of the events of a tumultuous world. It is true, in our periodicals, and more especially in our ecclesiastical ones, information is communicated respecting the propagation of CHRIST'S kingdom of grace: but it comes in a fragmentary way, with large intervals in the time of its appearance, so that it cannot produce a full impression on the reader's mind, and is easily forgotten. Meanwhile the oblivion regarding, or incomplete knowledge of, the pious zeal of Russian evangelisers, may give occasion to unfair comments. And, indeed, one meets Russians, orthodox in their faith, who, having cloyed themselves with reading the boastful narratives of the activity of foreign missionaries, impute to their Mother, the Holy Orthodox Church, an imaginary inaction, instead of confessing their ignorance of what she is actually doing.

"In order to manifest the truth, it is necessary and useful to preserve the memory of these blessed and isapostolic labours, undertaken by modest workmen within the limits of our own country, and particularly in the vast tracts of the north-eastern continent of Europe and Asia. With this object, instead of any artificial narrative, the editor offers to his readers the acts of Russian evangelists during sixty years, received at different times, and partly communicated by private persons, but mostly contained in the genuine letters of the agents and eyewitnesses themselves, in a consecutive order, without any embellishment or eulogies.

"In all these narratives there is the stamp of authenticity; the joy of

salvation there glitters; the zealous advocates of the Orthodox faith will find in them abundant spiritual consolation.

"The editor hopes that the 'Remembrancer' now published, as a collection of truthful narratives, may serve as the foundation of an historical monument of faith, to be erected in our country by the Orthodox Catholic Church."

The title of the book is: *Pamiatnik Troudov Pravoslavnich Blagovieatnickov, Rousskich, s'* 1793 *do* 1853 *goda.* "Remembrancer of the Labours of the Orthodox Russian Evangelizers, from 1793 to 1853."

The first article is, "The Conversion of the Samoyedes from 1825 to 1830," by the Archimandrite Benjamin, who died in 1848, aged 67: a very interesting and pious journal. Next come extracts from the Travelling Journals of the Archimandrite Macarius, the same of whom we shall hear more in the present paper; then from those of the Archpriest Landyscheff, both concerned with the Missions to the Altai. Next, documents on the Russo-American Church, a singular combination of ideas to us. Then, a series of letters, descriptive of the progress of his Missions, from Innocent, Archbishop of Kamschatka, to Philaret of Moscow, full of the fervour and love of this truly apostolic prelate. Afterwards, extracts from the proceedings of two energetic Missionaries, Peter Levitzy, and Gregory Golovin, and a few other documents of the same kind. The "Remembrancer" is a large handsome octavo of nearly 400 pages.

III.

THE MISSION OF THE ALTAI.[1]

Circle of Action.

THE Mission to the Altai, founded in 1830, was at first intended to propagate the faith in the province of Biysk, government of Tomsk; subsequently the ecclesiastical authority, taking into consideration the nomad existence of the natives, and the conversion of some inhabitants of Kouznetzk, extended the Mission to the last named province.

Population: Province of Biysk.

The province of Biysk, inhabited by natives, settled in colonies, who have almost all embraced Christianity, contains 16 villages, of which the nomad population professes the Pagan belief of Schamanism. In this number are 4,896 Tatars, 10,351 Calmucks of the

[1] These particulars were furnished by the Archpriest Landyscheff, present director of the Mission.

Altai, 2,000 tributary Calmucks: the number of Kirguis, some Mahometans, some idolaters, is unknown: 70 among them have been baptized by the efforts of the Mission. The whole nomad population of Biysk amounts to about 17,500 of both sexes. Before the establishment of the Mission there had been no conversion; at present there are more than 3,000 Christians.

Province of Kouznetzk.

Here there are 6,154 colonised inhabitants, and 9,044 nomads, in all 15,198 souls: the greater part of this population had been baptized before the arrival of the Mission; but, having no religious instruction, and exposed to continued contact with the Pagan natives, these converts still retained the superstitions of their fathers, living at a distance from the church, and frequently neglecting to baptize their infants. In the Province of Kouznetzk the number of those who are unbaptized, and those who need to be instructed by the preaching of the Gospel, may amount to 9,000.

In the two provinces then of Biysk and Kouznetzk, the population may be taken at 36,467: of these 23,500 are either not Christians, or have no real notions of Christianity.

Manner of Living.

A third part of the population of Kouznetzk, usually termed nomad, leads a really wandering existence; the others are fixed in villages, and occupied in the same employments as the Russians. The case is not the same with the non-Christian natives of Biysk, who are solitary and isolated in their dwellings, and shelter

themselves under huts made of branches or bark, and sometimes covered with skins. There are only two tribes, the Togouls and Koumandins, who dwell on a kind of plains or moors called *oulousse*, and almost in a savage state. Those who are baptized form Christian communities, and have adopted Russian manners. The nomad peoples are, for the most part, wretched; they live on cedar-nuts, and the produce of the chase. Those who are best off keep cattle; the Christians are employed in agriculture and the care of bees.

Superstitions.

The Pagan inhabitants of the Mongol and Tatar races who inhabit the provinces of Biysk and Kouznetzk differ but little in their language, customs, and religion. They admit two principles: Ulguin, the principle of good, and Erlik, the principle of evil; some of them acknowledge the Divine Unity, and worship in Ulguin the Supreme Being, the source of the Spirit of Light (*arou-nemé*): but they likewise offer bloody sacrifices to him and to Erlik, the source of the spirits of darkness (*kara-nemé*). After these come the inferior divinities, pure spirits (*ok-nemé*), impure spirits (*pirtak-nemé*), who have also their part in sacrifice.

Each Pagan family has its particular deity. When a sacrifice is celebrated, departed relatives are invoked, and certain little idols, adored as divinities, are placed to represent them. Mountains, lakes, and rivers, or rather the spirits which dwell in them, and are their masters, are also objects of worship. The idolaters believe that these spirits obtain possession of the places

on which they fell from heaven, and have the power of thus hurting, and even destroying men. The sun, the moon, and fire, figure among their divinities. The most delicious of their meats are offered to the smallpox and to other diseases, to obtain the favour of their hurtful deities. Different religions appear to them to have been distributed by God among different people, in the same way as different languages have been. To change their religion is to change their country: it is usual to find a convert hesitate in receiving baptism, from the fear of breaking the ordinary rule of life, and displeasing the government.

Geographical Position.

The natives of Biysk lead a wandering life on the borders of the rivers Tscharisch, Katoun, and Biy, of Lake Telesk, and the various streams which flow into it. Those of Kouznetzk inhabit the sides of the rivers Tom, Mros, Condom, Tchoumisch, and other small streams. The space occupied by the nomad populations of Biysk and Kouznetzk embraces, from north to south, the space of 1,000 versts, while it is from 150 to 700 in breadth.

This country is traversed by the majestic chain of the Altai: the name of Altai has been given exclusively to the southern part of the territory which stretches from the left bank of the Katoun and the right bank of the Samoulta, as far as the Lake Terletsk: precipices and savage rocks form its ordinary character; the highest summits are perfectly barren, and are crowned with eternal snow. In the northern portion, called Tschern, the soil is marshy; the mountains are less precipitous,

and covered with pine-woods; the forests, which abound in this district, are thick and impervious. Above the town of Kouznetzk are to be found the nomad hordes of the Tatars of Tschern; and lower, in a locality flatter and less moist, are the colonised natives of Kouznetzk.

Means of Communication.

Journeys throughout the country, except in the north-west, present countless difficulties: it is impossible to travel in winter and summer except on horseback, and frequently at great risk. In certain seasons, in spring, autumn, and even in a rainy summer, the passes become impassable, on account of the floods. At Tschern, in winter, all communication is cut off by a fall of snow: in the country round Kouznetzk, the only way of going out in winter is on skates. These difficulties render the operations of the missionaries very painful.

STATIONS OF THE MISSION.

To arrive at the conversion of the Pagans, and the religious instruction of the neophytes, the Mission found the necessity of discovering certain fixed stations, at different points inhabited by natives, in which to commence, and from which to carry on, their work. At present there are five such: Oulala, Myuta, Tchemal, Anony, Macarieff. It has also been found that Christian education could not triumph over the ignorance, the weakness, and the vicious inclinations of the neophytes, unless the latter were isolated from their un-

converted fellow-countrymen, and united in Christian communities. The new establishments must not, however, be too far from the habitations of the aborigines, in order to bestow on these, in case of their conversion, an easy method of joining their brethren. In this way the Mission has founded nine Christian villages.

I. Station of Oulala.

It was in an oulousse, called Oulala, one hundred versts from Biysk, that the Mission, guided by the Hand of God, chose its first residence. This station, on the right of the river Katoun, near the confluence of the Oulala and the Mayma, was founded in 1831. The first head and founder of the Mission, Macarius, who had come to preach the Word of God to the idolaters in the province of Biysk, commenced his residence here in 1830. He had visited Oulala on the invitation of a Christian inhabitant, to baptize a nomad Tatar. The favourable position of Oulala, both as regarded the Tatars of Tschern and the Calmucks of the Altai, had deeply impressed Macarius; but he could find no residence there for the winter. At that time Oulala was inhabited by only three Russian citizens, four families of Christian Tatars, and fifteen families of unconverted Teleoutes. At the end of the first winter, he went from Biysk to Saïdipsk, a Cossack advanced-post, where he hoped to set up a provisional altar. In May, 1831, he bought at Oulala the cabin of one of the Russian inhabitants. Scarcely had he arrived, when he was informed that, through fear of being forcibly baptized, the Pagan inhabitants were about to migrate to the

province of Kouznetzk. He preferred to leave the village, and to betake himself to Mayma, eight versts off, where there were, at that time, ten Christian families. From this place he established friendly relations with the Teleoutes of Oulala, and also effected some conversions among the Tatars of Tschern, and the Calmucks of the Altai, fixing the new converts at Mayma, and in the neighbouring villages. Lodged in the poor cabin of a Christian, at his own expense, and teaching the children of his landlord to read and write, and enduring the most painful deprivations, Macarius undertook, in 1832, to build a house, where he might find an abode, and to which he might add a chapel. His resources were very small: all that he possessed, including his pension as Master in Theology, was employed by him in the colonisation of the neophytes, and in help bestowed on the poorest. He denied himself even the use of tea, and yet the house could not be finished before 1835. In the meanwhile the inhabitants of Oulala had been won over by the sight of so much goodness, charity, and kindness. They at last found out that Macarius ought to inspire no fear, and was worthy of their deepest love and esteem. Touched by his preaching, a large number of idolaters received Baptism in 1834, and surrendered themselves with filial devotion to the Mission. This event determined him to return to Oulala, without, however, giving up his visits to Mayma. Having a sufficient number of church vessels for the service of two chapels, but only possessing one corporal, destined for S. Saviour's Church, Macarius celebrated service at the two stations alternately, till the arrival of other missionaries, and the present of

another corporal, for the second church, that of Our Lady of Smolensk.[1] In 1835 and 1836 all the remaining inhabitants of Oulala embraced Christianity; and those who had at first left that place to avoid the missionary were also converted. Since that period, Oulala has become the principal station of the Mission of the Altai, which thence finds constant communication with the Tatars and the nomad Calmucks. The conversions are frequent: the infidels, like wandering sheep, come to the fold of CHRIST, and after Baptism settle themselves, with the leave of the directors, at Oulala, or in other Christian communities, but especially in the villages where there are already native colonists.

Church and Parish of Mayma.

A stone church was erected in 1846, in honour of Pentecost, at the expense of a merchant of Tomsk, Michael Schebaline. In 1848 this church had a parish, a priest, and other ecclesiastics. The instructions of the priest were to spare no pains in working among his parishioners, and to fulfil all the duties gratuitously. After the formation of the parish, the Mission, finding it no longer necessary at Mayma, caused the house it occupied there to be removed to Oulala. In the latter place a school has been established, together with a reading-room: at the sound of a bell, the boys come daily for instruction in reading and writing; in the

[1] There is a very celebrated and wonder-working icon of S. Mary at Smolensk, which has become a favourite dedication throughout Russia. According to the use of the Eastern Church, the Liturgy cannot be celebrated without a consecrated corporal, (*antiminsion.*)—ED.

afternoons of festivals, the men and women come to assist at the Catechism, or the reading of pious books, or the singing of psalms or hymns. Sometimes the Pagans attend, and take a lively interest in that which they see and hear.

Circle of action at Oulala.

The Mission possesses at Oulala a house, where is the temporary chapel, dedicated to the Merciful SAVIOUR, two houses inhabited by the members of the Mission, and a fourth which serves at once as a refuge for the indigent, and an elementary school for young boys; there is also another school for young children of both sexes.

The action of the missionaries at Oulala is principally confined to the east, and has to do with the Tatars of Tschern, and the tributary Tatars who encamp round the Lake Teletzk, by the rivers Tchoumischkan, Baschkouk, and Tscou, as far as the Chinese frontier, which makes a distance of six hundred versts. To the south the Mission embraces the Calmuck hordes, fifty versts off; and to the north the oulousses of the Koumandins, sixty-eight versts off. The missionaries sometimes push their journeys as far as the colonised villages in the province of Kouznetzk; and the far distant dwellings of the Calmucks of the Altai, who wander on the banks of the Koul, the Ab, the Katoun, and other rivers, seven hundred versts off.

Villages dependent on the Mission.

The Mission has always endeavoured to colonise so as to reclaim from their vagabond habits its converts.

The station of Oulala has under its direction the following villages:—

1. *Oulala.* Before the Mission was established, the village contained four families of baptized natives, and fifteen families of unconverted Teleoutes. At present there are in Oulala seventy houses, inhabited by thirty-two converted Teleoute families, and fifty converted families of the Tatars of Tschern, and the Calmucks of the Altai, both nomad tribes.

2. *Mayma,* nine versts from Oulala. There were originally in this village ten houses, the inhabitants having completely adopted Russian manners. At present there are eleven, occupied by seventeen nomad families, now converted.

3. *High Carracouge,* thirteen versts from Oulala: twenty-three houses, inhabited by thirty nomad families, recently converted.

4. *Low Carracouge,* twenty-two versts from Oulala. This village, inhabited by the peasants who labour in the mines, contains six nomad families, recently converted.

5. *Bilula,* twenty versts from Oulala. The Christian population of this village has been augmented since 1852 by eight nomad families, of whom five yet dwell in tents.

6. In addition to these, there are five other Christian colonies, where ten families of baptized Tatars and Calmucks have acquired houses.

New Colonies of Neophytes.

The Mission of Oulala has founded, in the centre of

the nomad and unbaptized tribes of Tschern, the following colonies:—

1. *Taschta,* twenty-two versts from Oulala: founded in 1854: fifteen families, of whom six live in tents. The Christians at Taschta offered themselves willingly to transport and prepare the wood necessary for a church, where the missionaries could celebrate Divine service, more especially in Lent; but the project has been forced to be abandoned for the present, through want of means. (August 4, 1856.)

2. *Kabidja,* twenty-six versts from Oulala. Since 1855, six families of converted Koumandins have settled here.

3. *Sari-Kokscha,* eighty versts from Oulala. A converted native settled himself, in 1848, near the mouth of the Angyrka in Sary-Kakscha, for the cultivation of bees. Two other families joined him in 1852: in the three succeeding years three additional families were settled here by the Mission.

4. *Kebezene,* 130 versts from Oulala, and twelve from the Lake Teletzk. Three newly-converted families, encouraged and assisted by the Mission, built houses here in 1852: three more have since joined. Those who read these lines may be glad to peruse the following letter from the present chief of the Mission: (Aug. 3, 1856:) "I have just returned from the journey which I undertook to visit the Koumandin settlements. In a space of 300 versts, beginning from Oulala, and following the left bank of the Biy to the station of Macarieff, there are nineteen settlements, which contain 300 dwellings, and 1,220 non-Christian inhabitants. Thanks be to God, the number of our Christian colonies increases,

and that of Kiltasche has been converted. Here, seven families were baptized on August 1: their houses received benediction. I caused four crosses to be placed at the four corners of the settlement, as a safeguard to the converts, and for the purpose of bringing the means of our salvation before the eyes of the infidels: the latter amount to sixteen families; and some Christian settlers have already shown a desire of settling themselves here, as a favourable situation for bees. Kiltasche is sixty-seven versts from Oulala."

II. Station of Myuta.

Where the Myuta falls into the Sem, at the left of the river Katoun, the Mission has another station, 130 versts from Oulala, and 150 from Biysk.

This station was founded in 1845. Some Calmuck families of the Altai, converted by Father Macarius in 1845, had not been able to settle in any Christian villages, on account of their numerous herds, for which they found pasturage along the banks of the Myuta. They settled therefore in this place, inhabited at the time by eight families of non-converted Teleoutes, living in wooden huts: these Teleoutes have since become settlers. Father Macarius encouraged the new converts to settle here, hoping that considerable benefit would accrue from them to the non-Christian inhabitants of the adjoining country: the latter were converted in 1855; they learnt to know and to trust Father Macarius, and Baptism followed. The increase of the faithful necessitated the construction, in 1839, of a house, where the missionaries of Oulala sometimes came to celebrate;

but the distance and the badness of the roads did not allow them to go so often as the colonists wished. It was clear, however, that active and constant superintendence was necessary in a settlement which touched on the one side a village of schismatical[1] peasants, on the other one of non-converted Calmucks. These grave considerations induced the Mission to fix some of its members at Myuta, and to erect there an altar, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin.

At first they lodged in the house of a converted inhabitant; by 1849 they had built one house where the chapel is placed, another which serves as lodging for the missionaries, and a provisional hospital for the sick and indigent.

This Mission comprehends: (*a*) The Calmucks of the valleys of Mount Altai, thirty-five versts along the borders of the Katoun towards the north, scattered over a space of 350 versts. (*b*) The settlements of the Teleoutes and the villages of Tscherga and Little Myuta, fifteen or twenty versts off; in the latter villages few Pagans remain.

Villages dependent on the Mission.

1. *Myuta,* 150 versts from Biysk. It contains sixty-five newly converted families, fifteen of them too poor to have houses; all were nomads, except fifteen families of Teleoutes.

2. *Tscherga:* and 3. *Little Myuta,* a colony of Teleoutes, fifteen versts from Myuta; here are ten families of indigenous nomads.

[1] I believe, of *Popoffchins,* the 'Presbyterian' dissenters of Russia.—ED.

4. In five villages within a short distance, there are eighteen converted nomad families; ten have houses.

5. In 1854 a new colony was formed of new converts, near their tribe's place of encampment at Schibelikta, fifteen versts from the station; there are eight families.

III. Station of Tschemal.

The third station is at the mouth of the Tschemal, on the right side of the Katoun, eighty versts from Oulala, and thirty-five from Myuta. Towards the end of 1849, a new missionary, Father John, arrived from Moscow; it was wished to find a new central point for his zeal, and this place was chosen. The selection was justified by the majestic beauty of the site, by the neighbourhood of various tribes of Calmucks and Tatars, and by the success which attended the first efforts of Father John. The Calmucks had to complain of the sectarian peasants, who had ejected them from their abodes, had seized their pasture lands, and had intruded themselves amongst them by violence: it was to the mission, then, that they had recourse, asking to be protected, and promising to abandon their ancient belief and to acknowledge the true God. The cries of these unfortunate men touched the heart of Father John, who consented to remain with them, and preferred this abode to one that had been offered to him in the village of Kaja, and where he could have laboured for the conversion of the Koumandins. The law orders, that the disputes which may arise among the aborigines are to be judged, by word of mouth, by an arbitrator enjoying the confidence of both parties. The Mission, in such a case,

never refuses its assistance to the new converts, who thus are habituated to regard the missionaries as their fathers. They follow zealously those practical duties of their ministry, and their devotion finds its recompense in the conversion of the infidels. So it was at Tschemal: thanks to the support of the Mission, the authorities recognised the justice of the complaints made by the new converts, and gave them full satisfaction. The progress of the Gospel was, it is true, slackened by this prolonged strife with the sectarian peasants, who saw with no pleasure the development of civilisation among the nomad tribes: this was one of the greatest trials of the missionaries, but their perseverance surmounted all difficulties. They intend, after completing the religious instruction of these neophytes, to transport the altar dedicated to S. John Baptist, together with the station itself, as too near that of Myuta, either into the province of Kouznetzk, or to the southern part of the Altai, into the valley of Abey, where the nomad Calmucks are very numerous; but this project must depend for its execution on pecuniary means.

Circle of Action.

The station at Tschemal possesses—a house, where is the chapel, and where the cells are arranged; another, designed to lodge the missionaries; and a hospital for the sick and the poor. The missionaries have to labour among the Calmucks and the Tatars, who encamp by the side of the Katoun, as well as those by other rivers, such as the Tschemal, the Kouyoum, and the Elikmana, as far as Lake Teletzk, distances of fifty-five,

eighty, and thirty versts. They sometimes visit the nomad tribes in the province of Kouznetzk.

Since 1850, twenty-five families of converted Calmucks and Tatars have settled at Tschemal: ten of these, for the most part poor and savage, live in houses; seven more live in three Russian villages, not far from the station.

IV. Station of Anouy.

The missionaries sometimes go to visit a new colony of converts formed from 1849 to 1851, near the river Tscherno-Anouy, 150 versts from Myuta. In this colony, at the expense of the widow of a converted Teleoute, murdered by the Calmucks, buildings are erected for the missionaries, where they can lodge and celebrate. Till 1856, the station of Anouy remained in subjection to that of Myuta; but since, in consideration of its distant situation, the large number of Calmucks who encamp in its environs, and the ease with which conversions among them are effected, the station at Anouy has become the permanent residence of some members of the Mission, who have erected there a church in honour of the Ever-Blessed Trinity.

Circle of Action.

The action of the missionaries of Anouy extends over the neighbouring Calmuck tribes, as well as those on the banks of the Pestchana, the Oursoula, the Kane, the Jabagan, the Koksa, and the Abey, as far as the limits of the Semipalatian Province and the Chinese frontier: an extent of sixty versts north-east, and 600

south. More directly to influence this vast tract, covered with mountains, almost inaccessible to travellers, distant from towns and other centres of Russian population, it is much to be desired that another station could be founded in the valley of Abey, or in some similar situation.

Colonies dependent on the Mission.

1. *Tscherno-Anouy,* 180 versts from Oulala: a converted Teleoute settled here: the Calmucks assassinated him in 1848. The present colony consists of thirty-two families, of which twenty have their own houses.

2. *Hyino,* on the borders of the Pestchana, forty versts from Anouy: eight nomad families received Baptism here in 1855—6. At the present moment they are preparing for themselves regular houses; and the widow of the murdered Teleoute is building a dwelling at her own expense for the reception of the missionaries and the erection of an altar.

3. *Kouyatscha,* sixty versts from Anouy; a village formerly inhabited by indigenous nomads. There was in it for some time only a single hut, where a Russian peasant lived. At present ten neophyte families are lodged in nine houses.

4. *Koksa,* 250 versts from Anouy: an old colony of aborigines: has five neophyte families.

5. In five Russian villages, in the environs, there are ten families of neophytes, of which four have houses.

V. Station of Macarieff.

All the stations of which we have at present spoken are situated to the right of the primitive station of Ou-

lala: the country which stretches to the west is inhabited by tribes of Koumandins, Togouls, and Tatars, in the oulousses on the river Biy, and the province of Kouznetzk. The missionaries have been obliged to be especially vigilant in this direction, to preserve the neophytes from all contact with the sectarian peasants who were colonised here in 1849. A priest, therefore, has been sent into the village of Sayder, where he erected a chapel; but as this place (like the rest, except Kaja), a central point of the sectarians, was not large enough to undertake colonisation on a grand scale, the present chief of the Mission has obtained from Government the concession of a portion of land containing 1395 arpents, on the left bank of the Biy, near the rivers Kaja and Bougatschab, 100 versts from Oulala. It is in this locality that a station, that of Macarieff, has been planted. Eight families of neophytes have already been removed thither; ten more families, very poor, are waiting the assistance of the Mission to follow.

The station of Macarieff has under its direction the following villages:—

1. *Kaza,* nine versts from Macarieff, with seven families.

2. *Pilna,* twenty versts, with eight families.

3. *Saydy,* eight versts, with five families.

4. In four Christian villages, near Macarieff, there are seven families of neophytes.

5. In three oulousses there are for the present left five families, intended to remove to Macarieff.

Circle of Action.

The Mission has built at Macarieff a house for the

missionaries: a chapel is to be erected and dedicated to S. Macarius the Egyptian.

Their sphere of action extends, to the south-east, from the upper bank of the Biy to the mouth of the Kebezene, over a space of 130 versts; and westward, as far as the oulousses of Eleysk, thirty versts off: to the south it embraces the oulousses of the Koumandins, whose encampments are at a distance of fifty-nine versts, and to the north, the oulousses of the Togouls, the Tschkitims, the Tatars of Tschern, as far as Kouznetzk, and even beyond, a distance of 350 versts. Beyond Kouznetzk, the nomad tribes are numerous, and the roads scarcely passable; the ideas of Christianity which have been implanted among them begin to be lost, and the residence of missionaries there becomes an absolute necessity.

One of the greatest obstacles which arises to the propagation of Christianity among the Tatars and the nomad Calmucks, is the fear of being removed into Christian villages, at a distance from their original dwellings and the habitual resorts of their industry. To triumph over these difficulties, the Mission has undertaken to colonise the new converts in the midst of their own tribes: this measure, so salutary for the development of religious instruction and civilisation, cannot really be efficacious, unless the Mission is able to attract into the new colonies *bonâ fide* cultivators, belonging to the class of Christian colonists, or better skilled converted aborigines, whose habits have become Russian. The presence of such would familiarise the Pagan with domestic economy, and the operations of husbandry: it will be a means of introducing, by de-

grees, the Russian language, and of ameliorating the miserable condition of the poor heathen, by providing them with healthy food at moderate prices. Besides these, the co-operation of the cultivators would be of great advantage to the Russian Missions in the accomplishment of their principal duties,—such as the introduction of Christian family habits, the establishment of a settled commercial organisation, and outward respect for religious ceremonies.

The colonists might assist the missionaries in the performance of baptisms or funerals; while as it is the latter are scarcely equal to the material requirements of these duties. Those who would like it might be intrusted with the charge of the sick and the infirm. With their help, the missionaries would be better able to remove into colonies the poorer families and the sick, who show an inclination to be taught. The colonists could also second the missionaries in the repressive measures which the latter are about to take, to prevent persecutions and quarrels to which the neophytes are always exposed from the unconverted heathen and from their chiefs.

The number of converts baptized by the mission, not reckoning infants born of Christian parents, amounts to 2,087 of both sexes.

The heathens appear, at the commencement of efforts for their conversion, incapable (from their wretched intellectual development) of understanding the simplest words and the clearest truths of religion. After the enunciation of some maxim, when questioned regarding it, they reply only by a grunt. Patient and gradual teaching before Baptism wakes them by degrees from

this mental stupor, developes and enlightens their intellect, the activity of which till then had been paralyzed. Then only, according to the measure of their natural capacity, they begin to seize the truths of the Gospel and the lessons of Christian morality.

After Baptism, the first impression which they feel, as they constantly assert, and as indeed the missionaries perceive, is the calm of conscience. They often say that, in their pagan condition, notwithstanding their barbarism, they were conscious of a sensation of shame whenever a Russian assisted at the ceremonies of their superstition or at an idol feast. As soon as they have received Baptism, they feel that they are on solid ground. Penetrated with the superiority of the belief which they have embraced, delivered from the terrible fear of the demons, who, according to their former idea, rejoiced in their misery here and hereafter, freed from the shameful obligation of a gross rite, the converts are filled with deep calm.

The non-Christian aborigines, especially in the province of Biysk, have little inclination for a life in common; it is with difficulty that they endure any bridle to their passions, since their very meetings terminate in bloody quarrels. Christianity totally changes this savage disposition; once admitted into Christian communities, they readily submit to civil duties and institutions. Who would imagine, in beholding their large villages, now inhabited by a Christian and peaceable population, that the colonists were, before their conversion, savage and sanguinary?

The example of those who have already become accustomed to habits of labour, order, and domestic

economy, cannot fail to exercise a salutary influence over the most idle; the latter, by insensible degrees, enter on the same paths, and follow to a certain extent the Christian Rule that they have continually before their eyes. It is no uncommon thing to see a family, formerly incapable of constructing even a hut, and knowing no other occupation than that of hunting, become clever carpenters, and even make their own instruments for field culture or gardening. Having a sufficiency of essentials to existence, their physical condition is healthier, and they are better able to lead a regular life.

Christianity attacks with success, and eradicates the barbarous customs of the aborigines, and more especially those which relate to marriage. Polygamy was universal; wives were divorced on the slightest pretence; new wives taken by caprice; those who had been divorced sometimes re-married; everywhere discord in families, and corruption among children. After conversion, when marriage acquires the character of a sacred mystery, conjugal union becomes closer, and dissolute habits die out of themselves. There exists among the pagans the deplorable custom of exacting a very high price (*kalym*) for a wife; this price is often not settled beforehand, and being too large for present liquidation by the bridegroom, it gives occasion to quarrels which are handed down from one generation to another, and becomes the germ of irreconcileable feud, the fruitful parents of violence and brigandage. Young girls, not only in childhood, but even yet on their mother's breast, are sold, as betrothed, to old men; or young men, by the arbitrary will of their parents, affianced to aged women. The

brother or nearest relative of the deceased has the right to dispose of the widow; he can marry her or can sell her; she is sometimes parted with to the youngest of her husband's relations. In every case, the children of the first marriage are torn from their mother, and pass, together with the fortune, to the eldest of the heirs. It is his duty to divide the children, especially the young girls, among the nearest relations. Christianity raises woman from this state of degradation, in which she is sold as a beast or an article of property; it re-establishes the natural power of the mother over the children; and at the same time, by inspiring them with filial respect, softens their characters, and purifies their morals.

Nothing so developes the intelligence and acts upon the heart of the converts as religious instruction, the celebration of the Mysteries, the exercise of public worship. It is no longer the fear of punishment which hinders crimes; it is the cry of a conscience sanctified by the fear of God which reproaches man with the slightest infraction of the Divine Law; where is anything similar to be found among Pagans?

It is found that the new converts are more attentive to Christian instruction, and more scrupulously observant of their religious duties, than the colonised peasants. At least once a year, and (in many cases) frequently, they lighten their conscience by confession, and, full of lively faith, approach the Holy Table. Infants are baptized immediately after birth, and communicate frequently. When a convert falls sick, he at once sends for the Priest, confesses, and receives the Communion from him; to the Priest, again, it is that he has

recourse for remedies against his physical sufferings. In the hour of death, this Christian, scarcely reclaimed from barbarism, calm in his conscience, resigned to GOD'S will, trusting in the mercy of CHRIST, contemplates with radiant joy the eternity which is opening before him, and which has no sorrow nor pain for those that love the LORD. Oh, marvellous gulf, then, between that which he was and that which he is!

The chants of the Church possess great attraction for the neophytes. Some of them, women as well as men, learn with ease to read and write in Russ; they become, in their turn, instructors of the children. They read with pleasure the New Testament, Sacred History, and other books; those that have studied more deeply read the Lives of the Saints in Slavonic, and relate that which they have read to Pagan as well as Christian auditors.

The new converts are generally marked by great simplicity of manner; they are as fresh in their faith as children. There are, indeed, among them weak natures, induced by the force of habit to resume ancient prejudices, or to give way to bad example; there are even some—but such cases are, happily, rare—who learn with difficulty, at the end of several years, to make the sign of the Cross. But there are also among them intellects of a high order—men who can enter into the sublimest truths of religion. If, generally speaking, the converts are not capable of sounding the depths of evangelical truth, they accept them—and the exceptions are very rare—with fervent faith, and express the deepest disgust at impurity, falsehood, and the absurdity of their former belief.

Influence of Christianity on the yet unconverted Natives.

The aborigines who have no notion of Christianity form a very confused idea of good and evil; they are so imperfectly acquainted with their own nature as to attribute to God their worst actions. Seized, for example, in the act of theft, they will say that God incited them to it; they believe themselves predestinated to become demons after death; some of them hold that there is nothing beyond this life; and their Priests, the *Schamans*, boast of being in relation with the most terrible demons, to whom they hope to be joined at the end of their lives. It is not surprising that these idolaters, filled with the gloom of these dark ideas, have frequently recourse to suicide; they choose strangling, as the least painful method of death. Now that Christianity has made numerous proselytes, the Pagans for the most part allow that their own faith is bad, and that the belief of Christians is preferable. Above everything else, the amelioration of the condition of the neophytes surprises them; but they dare not tear themselves from idolatry, alleging their feebleness and want, and, beyond all other things, fearing the vengeance of their demons. It is not unusual to hear one of the unconverted natives relating to others how the True God, Jesus Christ, became Man, that He might save men from the Spirit of Evil, and from eternal torments; how He was born miraculously of the Virgin Mary; how He suffered to redeem men from sin; how He was crucified, dead, and buried. Some of these same Pagans believe in the Last Judgment, in a Heaven and Hell, and

have learned no longer to imagine that the soul is a thread which disappears as soon as it is broken. Their belief in evangelic truth seems only to illuminate them in certain lucid moments; and till the Sun of Revelation touches them, they open their eyes to the truth only to close them again with more obstinacy than ever.

Activity of the Mission.

We have seen that the aim of the Mission has been this—to convert the aborigines, to instruct them in religion, to protect them, to facilitate their passage from a nomad state to a laborious and settled life, to ameliorate their social position, by encouraging them in devoting themselves to agriculture, gardening, and cattle keeping; to unite them in Christian communities, and, lastly, to watch over each family and each individual. The activity of the missionaries is not confined to these labours—they themselves teach Russ to the aborigines and to their children of both sexes: they have already thirty young boys and twenty-eight young girls who go to school. Orphans, the sick, the infirm, find asylums in which they are boarded and lodged; the missionaries are obliged to understand physic, to know how to bleed, vaccinate, and the like. To do all this, it is first necessary to study the native language; they understand it thoroughly, and have translated for the use of the new converts, the Creed,[1] the Decalogue, certain prayers, the general confession and summary, the preliminary lessons of the Catechism, and some

[1] I.e. the Nicene; the Eastern Church not employing that which we call the Apostles'.—Ed.

selected portions of the Old and New Testament; they are also compiling, and have made considerable progress in a Dictionary of the Tataro-Calmuck language. Starting from this principle that, in the work of conversion, it is necessary to proceed with caution, to approach the unbeliever by degrees, to win his friendship and confidence, the missionaries seek, above and beyond everything else, to make themselves useful to the aborigines; to accustom them to ask for help in sickness, especially when the remedies of their Schamans are ruinously expensive. They come also to ask for bread, old clothes, &c.; when time was that if even money were given to them, they would reject it. Sometimes Pagans will come to the house to submit their internal disputes to arbitration, to ask for the protection of the missionaries, and to offer prayers, if they are ill.

The Mission is composed of an Arch Priest,—who is its head,—two regular and three secular Priests; seven inferior ecclesiastics, of whom two are monks, four celibate, and only one married; there are also two novices who have recently arrived. Two women take part in the labours of the Mission, in nursing the sick of their own sex, in assisting at the Baptism of women, and in teaching little girls to read and write. In all, the number of the missionaries, their families included, amounts to thirty, nineteen men and eleven women.

The government allows a certain sum for the promotion of the Mission. There are also the pious offerings of charitable persons which help to support it. However economical in their personal expenses, the missionaries

frequently exceed their income when the increase of the converts imposes new sacrifices and enlarges the circle of its action.

Without reckoning the personal expenses of the members of the Mission, the following have to be provided :—1. The service of five parishes. 2. The matters indispensable for the Baptism of the converts. 3. The salary of an interpreter. 4. The vehicles and expenses of travelling. 5. Writing, carriage, and books. 6. The schools. 7. The lighting, and heating of houses, and the hire of a lodging at Biysk. 8. The foundation and maintenance of the different establishments. 9. Medicines. 10. Relief and alms.

Removed, for the most part, from a savage and wretched life, the converts cannot at once be of service to the missionaries. Sometimes they have not the means of removing their families to the Christian Colony; sometimes they want food and clothes; sometimes a whole family has no house, no household furniture, no utensils; or else no instruments of husbandry, beasts, or seed. The Mission ordinarily gives a shirt to every person who is baptised; women receive, additionally, a piece of linen, to replace the cap which they wore while Pagans. The same family has frequently to ask for help more than once; the infirm, the orphans, the incurable, always remain a subject of expense to the Mission,—and whatever be the difficulties with which the latter be surrounded, it cannot refuse its assistance to those whose misery and wants it well knows.

Since the commencement of the Mission till 1856, the annual number of conversions has been as follows :

1. Direction of Father Macarius, Sept. 1830, to May 8, 1844, 13 years 8 months.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1830	5	1	6
1831	19	8	27
1832	21	25	46
1833	12	7	19
1834	56	64	120
1835	68	59	127
1836	22	24	46
1837	15	13	28
1838	27	28	55
1839	10	11	21
1840	34	26	60
1841	25	23	48
1842	23	10	33
1843	13	9	22
1844	6	4	10
	366	312	678

2. Direction of the Arch-Priest Landyscheff, May 8, 1844, till 1856, 11 years 8 months.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1844	15	9	24
1845	11	4	15
1846	32	26	58
1847	82	56	138
1848	26	18	44
1849	24	27	51
1850	38	34	72
1851	105	110	215
1852	63	42	105
1853	84	65	149
1854	104	106	210
1855	140	109	249
1856 till Aug. 6	40	42	82
	764	648	1412
In all	1130	960	2090

IV.

THE DOGMA

OF

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,

FROM AN ORTHODOX POINT OF VIEW.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IV.

THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

THE Latin Church now recognises, among her principal festivals, that of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin. The Orthodox Church also celebrates the Conception of S. Anne, "when she conceived the Holy Virgin, on the 9th of December," and this feast comes to us from a very remote age. S. Andrew of Crete, who lived in the seventh century, wrote a Canon and a Homily for the day; but the Orthodox Church, while celebrating it, simply does so to commemorate the fact, that the Blessed Virgin was born of sterile parents, and that by this birth S. Anne was delivered from her sterility. The Western Church observed the day for many ages on the same ground only. The word *immaculate* has no place in ancient, nay, nor in tolerably modern, missals; and in the prayers of that office there is not the remotest allusion to her having been conceived without original sin.

The new doctrine was first heard of in the West during the ninth century; but, as it was founded neither on Holy Scripture nor on tradition, it was received in very different manners. It found at least as many antagonists as defenders; it was not confirmed by the Council of Trent, but reckoned simply as one opinion among different theological systems. The present Pope resolved to raise the question, and to subject it to a canonical deliberation.

In 1849, at the time of his flight to Gaeta, the thought first entered his mind: was it to occupy Christian spirits by this new doctrine, or to prove his œcumenical solicitude in the midst of the troubles that afflicted him on all sides? The Pope confided this so delicate question to his Cardinals, and to the most learned theologians about him,—men, for the most part, animated with the spirit of the Jesuits, Perrone especially: and then, having gathered the opinions, more or less in conformity with that which he desired to hear, as if he were moved by the supplications of all Christendom submitted to his chair, the Holy Father decided to proclaim as a dogma this doctrine, till then only admitted as a pious opinion, and to impose it on all the faithful adherents of the Latin Church, without permitting, for the future, the least discussion on the subject, at the risk of losing eternal salvation, and falling under the weight of anathemas. Painful as it must be for every orthodox Christian to moot questions so delicate, and to discuss matters which may affect the sentiment of profound veneration which the Œcumenical Church has always devoted to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of the Divine Word Who became flesh for us, nevertheless, since

error dares to open her lying mouth, truth must also speak, to defend herself: if a false doctrine is openly preached by an erroneous conviction, the True Faith must not fail to recall the ancient and invariable truth.

On what, then, does Pius IX. found his new dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,—that is to say, the belief that, although she were born of S. Joachim and S. Anne, in a natural manner, she was, nevertheless, by a superabundance of special grace, exempt from the original sin derived from Adam to all his race?

In the Bull, published on the 8th of December, 1854, and translated into Slavonic, and printed at Lvoff in 1855, these are the canonical proofs of this doctrine: (*a*) That the doctrine is revealed by God, and found in Holy Scripture. (*b*) That the Catholic Church has always accepted and defended this opinion; that it is stated in precious documents of sacred antiquity, and defended in councils by the holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church,—by the famous monastic orders, as well as by preceding Popes. (*c*) And lastly, that it ought to be accepted, because it is befitting to the Blessed Virgin Mary, as Mother of God, to be free from original sin; the rather that the honour and glory of the Blessed Virgin herself requires it in an especial manner.

A.

Under the name of *dogma*, we comprehend such verities of religion as have been revealed to men by Holy Scripture and by holy tradition, and the knowledge of which cannot come to him by natural means. Every one is bound to accept them, if he desires to belong to

the True Church of CHRIST, to have a true faith in GOD, and to attain eternal salvation. The dogmas which compose the body of Christian doctrine have been decided and explained by the Œcumenical Church; and in the third and sixth General Councils, it has been forbidden to bring forward new dogmas.

It results, that every new dogma, contrary to such a decree of the Church, and which is not clearly contained in Scripture or Divine Revelation, and only maintained by human ratiocination, arbitrary explanations, and casuistic suppositions, not only cannot be received as the truth, but must be rejected as an erroneous or heretical doctrine. Well, then: where in Holy Scripture is it said that, at the moment of her conception, the Blessed Virgin was free from original sin? The very defenders of the new dogma admit that no such passage is to be found. Lambruccini and Guéranger, in the works which paved the way for the proclamation of the dogma, write thus:—"We allow, without evasion, that the Immaculate Conception is not to be deduced from revealed dogmas. It is true that Holy Scriptures do not explicitly affirm that this extraordinary privilege was awarded to Mary; on the contrary, in various passages of Sacred Writ we find, with great clearness, the ancient dogma of the Catholic Church, that all men, because springing from Adam, who sinned, are born in a state of sin."

But perhaps some exception has been made to this, the common law of all mortals, in favour of the Virgin Mary, chosen as she was to be the mother of the Divine SON. But the Divine Word is silent on this question: it makes only one exception in favour of the LORD

JESUS CHRIST, Whom it names the only Sinless One. The Church repeats these words in the prayers which she addresses to the SAVIOUR, at High Vespers, in Pentecost: in beseeching Him to pardon our sins, she adds, "*because Thou only and alone art without sin.*" In like manner, in the prayers for the dead, she expresses herself thus: "*For Thou only art without sin.*"

Thus this exclusion does not speak in favour of the new Papal dogma; since, in the express Word of GOD, and in the teaching of the Church, it is said, clearly and precisely, that JESUS CHRIST, alone, and exclusively alone, had accepted human nature in all things such as ours, yet without sin. How, then, is it possible to affirm, much more to affirm as a dogma, the same theory concerning the Blessed Virgin?

If, then, by the doctrine of even Western theologians, the hereditary sin of Adam derives itself to all the human race, as to a posterity which had its root in the same Adam when already in a state of sin, how can the Virgin Mary be reckoned among the descendants of Adam, while yet, at the moment of her Conception, she was free from the sin of Adam?

But there is yet another dogma in the Œcumenical Church which it is impossible to harmonise by any force with the new Roman dogma. The Divine Word assures us, that "if CHRIST died for all, then were all dead;" and that "as in Adam all die, even so in CHRIST shall all be made alive."

Taking her stand on these words, the Church of CHRIST teaches us, that the Passion and Death of JESUS CHRIST were suffered for all men; and that the resurrection and the life of all those who die in Adam depend on

the Life and Resurrection of Him Who is the Author of our salvation, JESUS CHRIST, Man-GOD. Is, then, the Virgin Mary, or is she not, in the number of the *all*, for whom JESUS CHRIST died and rose again? Roman theologians can scarcely answer the question in the negative; and yet, how could Mary be of this number, if she had not participated in the sin of Adam by birth? Let the defenders of the new dogma give us some reply. They cite, it is true, some passages,—let us see with what force.

In quoting the words of the Book of Genesis (iii. 15,) "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head," Pius IX. affirms that in these very expressions is contained the exemption of the Blessed Virgin from original sin, since the words "she shall bruise thy head" refer to her. According to this doctrine, she it is who wins the victory over the devil; she it is who crushes the head of the ancient dragon. We answer this new doctrine of the Pope by observing that the Vulgate translation is not faithful; that, as well in the original as in the LXX., the pronoun cannot be referred to the woman, but to the Seed of the woman,—that is, to the SAVIOUR, Who was to be born of the woman. It is thus that the Church has always explained, and still explains, the passage. It is in this sense that Perrone, ardent advocate as he is of the new dogma, understands the text.[1] It is in this sense that the words must be explained, if we compare them with the passages in the New Testament which attribute the victory over the devil to CHRIST alone. (1 S. John iii. 8; Heb. ii. 14.)

[1] De Immac. Concept. p. 84.

But the Pope, on the other hand, tells us that all was the work of Mary! Is not this to diminish the merits of our Redeemer? And yet it is proclaimed, *ex Cathedrâ*, by a mouth which is called, and calls itself, infallible!

One calls sadly to remembrance the prophetic words of the greatest of Popes: "If he who calls himself œcumenical head of the Church should fall into error, the whole Church would fall with him."

Another text which the Pope quotes in favour of his dogma is taken from the Song of Songs, iv. 7. "Thou art all fair, My love; there is no spot in thee." But these words have no reference to the Mother of GOD; they represent the mutual love between CHRIST and the Church. It is thus that they are explained by the Fathers and Doctors of the first ages of Christianity,—Origen, S. Cyprian, Theodoret, Eusebius, and others still nearer to the times of the Apostles. And this is also the sense which is evidently involved by the words of S. Paul, who, writing to the Ephesians, thus speaks of the Church: "CHRIST also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish." This expression of the Song of Songs, "There is no spot in thee," only signifies that the Church has been purified. Similar expressions are to be found in all the epistles of S. Paul: as, for example, when he speaks of the faithful among the Colossians, "That ye may be holy and without blame before Him in love;" although he could not have meant that these converts of his were free from all sin, and still less that

they were exempt from original sin at the moment of their conception. See how false an explanation may be, when an arbitrary sense is affixed to a passage.

Western theologians further cite the angelic salutation, *Ave Maria, gratiâ plena.* These words of the archangel, say they, signify that Mary is an exhaustless fountain of Divine gifts: and they thence draw this conclusion,—that her conception must also be without stain, and exempt from original sin. But the Vulgate translation is in this place not faithful: the Greek word *kecharitomene* expresses properly that the holy Virgin was made a partaker of grace; and this term is also used in the Epistles relatively to the faithful in general, as for example, (Ephesians i. 6,) "To the praise of the glory of His grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the Beloved." Here the Vulgate translates that word *gratificavit*, and not *fecit plenos gratiâ.* Nevertheless, allow that the word were faithfully rendered by the Vulgate; grant that the archangel saluted Mary as full of grace; could she not have received this fulness after her birth, or, as many of the Fathers assert, at the very moment of the angelical salutation? and having once received it, have raised herself to the highest degree of holiness and purity, preserving herself intact from all voluntary sin till she became the Virginal Mother of the LORD, and by that means more precious than the Cherubim, and infinitely more glorious than the Seraphim, as our Eastern Church calls her?

Utterly unable to find any text of Holy Scripture which may seem to confirm his new dogma, Pius IX. has recourse to a supposition. He says that probably the Holy Fathers discovered this doctrine in the Word

of God, since they apply to the person of S. Mary many expressions and figures of the Old Testament, which, according to the Pope, fully confirm this idea. Therefore they call her the Ark of Noah, the Ladder of Jacob, the Burning Bush, Solomon's Temple, the pure Dove, the Virginal Eve, the Lily among the Roses, the Virgin Earth from which the New Adam had His origin, the Celestial Paradise, Aaron's Rod, and the like.

In these figurative expressions, what possible allusion is there to the Immaculate Conception? The Orthodox Church bestows praises of still higher character in all the canticles and verses which are called dogmatic, and which are chanted at vespers. All our Church books are full of like symbols, to the glory of her who merited the supreme honour of becoming the Mother of the Lord. But in all her praises, in all the figures of the Old Testament which the Church, Greek as well as Latin, applies with one accord to S. Mary, is there the least allusion to her exemption from original sin at the moment of her conception?

If the Christian world has wreathed all these coronets for the Queen of Angels, it is only because she is the Mother of the Son of God; because in her the laws of nature itself were suspended, when, remaining a virgin, she nevertheless divinely became a mother; because by her means, as the Eastern Church expresses herself at Compline, the Lord of Angels is with us, and by the glorious Nativity of the God-Man Who tabernacled in her womb, human nature, once so abject, is united to Divine nature, always so sublime. And so we sing at Prime: "By what name shall we call thee, O thou that art resplendent with grace? Shall it be Heaven, be-

cause by thee the Sun of Righteousness hath risen upon us? Shall it be Paradise, because from thy womb the Flower of incorruptibility hath germinated? Shall it be Virgin, because thou remainest without spot of human corruption? Shall it be pure Mother, because thou didst carry in thine arms a SON Who is the GOD of all?" Such is, in concise terms, the Orthodox doctrine relative to the Mother of GOD; but can one find in it the least trace of any assertion of her Immaculate Conception?

B.

It is, then, without foundation that the Papal epistle affirms that this doctrine had been constantly received and defended by the Œcumenical Church: when, in point of fact, till the ninth century it was completely unknown, not only in the East, but even in the West. S. Augustine, by a sentiment of veneration for the Blessed Virgin, would allow no discussion on original sin in so far as it concerned the Mother of GOD. It was only in the ninth century that Paschasius Ratbertus for the first time raised this question; and it was only in the eleventh century that a certain Abbat Guibert gave publicity to it in the Church of Lyons, and thereby excited S. Bernard against his doctrines. In the thirteenth century this dogma became the subject of dispute and discord between the Dominicans and Franciscans. After all this, can it be affirmed that the Œcumenical Church had ever accepted and defended the dogma of the Immaculate Conception? The Pope assures us, however, that the documents of sacred anti-

quity, both in the East and the West, prove his assertions. It would be curious to know what documents these are; but the Pope in alluding to them quotes none of them. The Bishop of Wilna has made good this deficiency by publishing in his diocese, in 1855, the Papal epistle, together with a pastoral admonition on his part. He here quotes as his evidence: on the side of the Eastern Church,—(1) the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, and S. Basil the Great, because in these the Mother of God is commemorated as most holy, most pure, and singularly blessed. One ought to observe, however, that the Eastern Church does not employ the Liturgy of S. Mark. (2) That since the fifth century, the Conception of S. Anne, mother of the Blessed Virgin, was commemorated in the Eastern Church: that an Office had been composed for the day, and that many Oriental Bishops had preached sermons on the festival. On the part of the Western Church, the Bishop of Wilna cites as evidence an ancient calendar in marble, erected in the Church at Naples in the ninth century: this feast is there set down on the 9th of December.

But these documents rather make against, than in favour of the new dogma. In all the praises addressed during the whole course of the Liturgy to S. Mary, is there the least allusion to her purity from original sin? The Feast of December, if we may judge of it from the terms of its inscription on the marble Calendar, only proves that the ancient, undivided Church believed, as the Orthodox Church still believes, that S. Mary was conceived of barren parents, S. Joachim and S. Anna, in the same way as S. John the Forerunner, himself also born of aged parents, Zacharias and Elizabeth. Thus,

in commemorating by a feast the Conception of the Virgin, as she does that of the Forerunner, the Œcumenical Church had not the remotest idea of asserting that she was exempt from original sin. In the same way, do any of the sermons pronounced by ancient Bishops —as, for example, S. Andrew of Crete—contain a single word on which the defenders of the new dogma can build their assertions?

If this doctrine had been accepted and defended by the Œcumenical Church, as the Pope asserts, his best evidence would have been either the Creeds, as well as the Office-books of the Eastern and Western Churches; but we there find nothing of the sort. Thus, if we accept the new dogma, all has to be done over again, down to the doctrine on original sin of the Council of Trent itself, which affirms that none of the sons of Adam is exempt from sin; otherwise all will bear witness in future ages against the new dogma of Pius IX.

His epistle says further that this dogma had been defended in Councils, by holy fathers and doctors of the Church, by the famous Monastic orders, and by the Popes, his predecessors: and says all this without any proof, presuming that the whole Christian world would take it upon his word, as infallible chief of the Church. Nevertheless, neither the seven Œcumenical, nor the nine Provincial Councils, ever had, or could have had, any discussion on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The last of the Œcumenical Councils was held at Nicæa in 787, and till then no one had ever dreamt of raising such a question. It is noteworthy, however, that at the end of the fourth century, the Provincial Council of Carthage had treated the question of Bap-

tism as indispensable for all infants, on account of the original sin which all had contracted from Adam: S. Augustine assisted at this Council, and had he been favourable to the new dogma, he would hardly have missed the opportunity of making an exception in favour of the Blessed Virgin. He, however, did not oppose himself to the 124th Canon, which says, basing itself on the Epistles of S. Paul:

"We also affirm, that if any one rejects the necessity of the Baptism of infants, or affirms that, though they are baptized for the remission of sins, yet they had no part in the original sin of Adam, so as to necessitate their purification therefrom by the laver of regeneration, let him be anathema. For the words of the Apostle, 'As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned,' ought not to be understood otherwise than as the Catholic Church throughout all the world explains it."

These words are of great importance: the Catholic Church, as if she had foreseen what would subsequently take place, decreeing that no other sense should be given to these words than that which had always been attached to them; and this without hint at any exception whatever. How happens it, then, that the Holy Father and his theologians, while protesting that their new doctrine has always been defended by Councils, forgets this Canon, clear and precise as it is, of that of Carthage?

In the course of ages, in the fifteenth century, when the subject came into discussion, the Council of Basle, in 1441, in its thirty-sixth session, had deliberated on

this article, and had even pronounced a decision on it. But it is easy to see, by the very terms of this decision, that the Council did not intend to assert the dogma that the Blessed Virgin was exempt from original sin, but rather to teach that original sin had no active influence on her life, because by the effect of grace she attained to such a degree of sanctity as never to sin voluntarily. Therefore it was that, while testifying to the importance of the ancient feast of her Conception, this Council would not add the term *Immaculate*. These are the very words:

"We, having diligently inspected these authorities and reasons, define that the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of GOD, through the singular grace of the Divinity preventing and operating with her, was never actually subject to original sin, but was always free from all actual transgression. Renewing, furthermore, the institution of the celebration of her Conception, we ordain and enjoin that the said solemnity should be observed on the aforesaid day in all churches, monasteries, and convents of the Christian religion, under the name of The Conception."

In this way the decision of the Council of Basle left this question in suspense; and Pope Eugenius IV., in rejecting this Council, rejected also all its Canons. As to the Council of Trent, to which the defenders of the new dogma appeal, that also decided nothing; it even purposely expressed itself with vagueness, and refused to discuss the question. "This holy Synod declares, that, in treating of original sin, it does not intend to comprehend the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of GOD." If, however, the Council acquiesced in

the decision of Pope Sixtus IV., it only did so with reserve, adopting it as a mere opinion, and leaving it at liberty for every one to accept, or not to accept, as he thought fit. And yet this Pope himself had published a bull which obliged all the faithful to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as beyond all controversy; he had even composed an office for the 8th of December on this hypothesis. But when this Bull excited fresh disputes, and set one order against another, then the Pope in 1483 published another, by which he conceded to either party the liberty of thinking as it pleased, on the condition that neither should condemn the other. Therefore it is that the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, remained in the Office-books as before, under the simple title of *Conceptio*, without the addition of the adjective *Immaculata*.

Let us now examine who were the Fathers and Doctors of the Church that had taught this new dogma defended by the Latins, and what was their doctrine? Pius IX. simply advances the assertion, without furnishing any proofs; but the Bishops, in publishing his Bull, endeavoured to complete that which is defective in it. In their pastoral letters they name—(1) S. Irenæus, S. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and S. Epiphanius; and they affirm that these Fathers transmitted one to another the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. (2) They cite the very words of S. Augustine, and pretend that he professes the same opinion. (3) They appeal to the Fathers and Doctors of the Eastern Church,—S. Dionysius of Alexandria, S. Ephraim, S. Andrew of Crete, S. John Damascene, and S. Germanus, Patriarch of Con-

stantinople,—all of whom, according to their assertion, defend the same doctrine.

And finally, among the Westerns, they name Paschasius Ratbertus and S. Anselm as having treated the subject. We reply to these four points.

1. The defenders of the new dogma, in speaking of the Bishops of the first four centuries, pretend indeed to refer to their writings, but from these writings quote not a sentence, not a single word which alludes to it. They merely prove that these Fathers were in the habit of comparing Eve and S. Mary: the first, as having conversed with the angel who was the tempter; the second with the Archangel, who was the bearer of the good tidings: the first as having been the cause of the fall of the human race; the second as having served to rehabilitate fallen man. Hence they gather that the above-named Fathers, from the very fact of this comparison, intended to assert the Immaculate Conception. But that this argument is entirely arbitrary, and has no manner of foundation, is a fact so palpable, that their words need not even refutation.

2. We will cite the exact words of S. Augustine. Speaking generally of voluntary sins as the consequence of original sin, this famous Father of the Western Church thus continues:—"Except, therefore, the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom, on account of the honour of the LORD, I wish to enter into no discussion when writing concerning sin." This is the only place in the writings of that Father which the adherents of the new dogma allege as favourable to themselves, although in very deed they have nothing to do with the point. (1.) Augustine is not here speaking of original

sin, but of actual: on this point one of the most zealous defenders of the Immaculate Conception, the Abbé Guéranger, agrees with me. "Doubtless," says he, "S. Augustine is here speaking of actual sin alone." Now there is nothing contrary to orthodox doctrine in the assertion that the Blessed Virgin was without actual sin. (2.) Notice that S. Augustine here makes no assertion whatever in the way of dogma; since, from respect to the Blessed Virgin, as Mother of the LORD, he refuses to treat the question at all. (3.) The same Father, who, more than any other, occupied himself with the question of original sin, says clearly, that not a single individual of the descendants of Adam is there who is not born in sin and slavery; that among the children of men there never was, there is not, and there never will be such an one. (*De baptismo parvulorum*, Lib. 2.) That JESUS CHRIST alone except, Who died for all, all men, without one single exception, die for original sin. How is it possible, then, to reconcile a doctrine so clear and precise as that of S. Augustine with the assertion that he believed in the Immaculate Conception?

3. The evidence of the Fathers and Doctors of the Eastern Church speaks far more strongly against the defenders of the new dogma than in their favour. The passage which they cite from the letter of S. Dionysius to the heresiarch Paul of Samosata, only bears witness to one thing: the holy Father, speaking of the Mother of GOD, says that she "is the only blessed one," but not a word of her conception. The other Fathers quoted have, it is true, written much in praise of the blessed Virgin, and more especially S. John Damascene,

the author of many canticles in her honour; but it is much to be desired that the adherents of Rome would go deeply into all these writings, as well as into the Office of the Blessed Virgin in general. They would then see that, though the orthodox Church, in her supplications and prayers to the Mother of GOD, is still more expressive and touching than the Latin, in glorifying her dignity, her virginal purity and incorruptibility, her powerful intercession to the SON for the salvation of the world; nevertheless, in all their canticles of praise, there is not one idea in favour of the new Roman dogma.

4. As to the passages cited from Paschasius Ratbertus, and S. Anselm of Canterbury, they also prove nothing. It is true indeed that Paschasius, who lived at the end of the ninth century, may be reckoned the first who expressed an opinion on the non-participation of S. Mary in original sin. But if attention be paid to the work which appears to contain this opinion, if the words from which it seems to be stated be analysed, and if further it be observed that in the passage quoted neither the word *conceptio* nor *immaculata* is to be found, all this will bring us to the conclusion that Paschasius, when he speaks of the Blessed Virgin as *incorruptam, inconta-minatam, et ab omni peccato originali immunem*, did not mean by these terms that she was exempt in the moment of her conception from original sin, but that this original sin, as we have already said, had no active influence on the holy life of the Virgin, blessed among women, who by an unique exercise of the grace of GOD, never sinned voluntarily, and became the virginal mother of the SON of GOD. The title of the work of Paschasius is: *De perpetuâ virginitate Mariæ et de ejus parturitione.*

The words on which the adherents of Rome base their arguments are these: *Eximiæ pietatis honorem et decus virtutis beatissimæ Virginis pudicitiam prædicare incorruptam et incontaminatam, et ab omni contagione primæ originis alienam.* Where, then, are the precise terms which express the Immaculate Conception?

S. Anselm of Canterbury, who lived at the end of the eleventh century, and who was considered as the organ and expression of the Roman doctrine of his time, expresses himself thus in his book, *De Conceptu Virginali:* "It was fit that the Conception of THAT MAN should take place of a most pure Virgin; it was fit that that Virgin should be illustrious with the greatest purity that can be imagined under GOD, that Virgin to whom GOD the FATHER proposed thus to give His only Begotten SON Whom, born of His Essence, equal to Himself, He loved as Himself, that He, one and the same, should be the common SON of GOD the FATHER and of the Virgin." These are the only words of Anselm which are actually cited by the defenders of the new dogma, and on which they found their assertion that it was already known to the writers of the eleventh century. But who does not see that the Saint is here speaking of the Conception of the SON of GOD at His Incarnation, and not of the Conception of the Virgin Mary; and that Anselm, in naming His most pure Mother, understands by that expression her holy life and perpetual virginity, without the slightest allusion to her Immaculate Conception? On the other hand, we can quote a passage of the same writer which clearly shows that he did not entertain that opinion. In his dialogue with the monk Boso, on the subject *Cur Deus Homo,* Anselm

being questioned by Boso how GOD, Who is only holy, and only without sin, could take human nature of S. Mary, who herself was conceived in the sin of Adam, answers: that the Only-Begotten SON of GOD, become man for the reconciliation of sinners, Himself, beyond all doubt, had no taint of sin; neither ought it to disquiet us if we cannot conceive in what way He took upon Himself humanity without sin, deriving it from human nature which was not without sin. Here, then, Anselm must have made some allusion to the question of the Immaculate Conception, had he really held that doctrine.[1] It is then without foundation that the Pope affirms his doctrine touching the Immaculate Conception to be that of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, their writings, as well as the traditions of past ages, prove the contrary; and in advancing such an opinion, he must surely have counted on very little reading on the part of his flock. Till the end of the eleventh century, none of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, nor the Doctors of the West, had touched on the subject. Even on the avowal of Cardinal Lambruschini, "The Fathers of the first ages of Christianity preserved a profound silence relative to the Conception of the Blessed Virgin." We find no allusion to it in the writings of S. Clement of Rome, S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, S. Irenæus, S. Justin Martyr, and many others: on the contrary, all the Doctors and Fathers of the Church, even those both in earlier and later ages, confess unanimously and manifestly in all their writings,

[1] The writer might have added that S. Anselm, in a subsequent part of the tract, expressly says, that the Blessed Virgin was purified from sin by JESUS CHRIST.

that no man can be born without original sin, and that JESUS CHRIST alone is without sin, as having been born after a divine fashion by the operation of the HOLY GHOST: and they confess it in a manner which it is utterly impossible to reconcile with the new Papal dogma.

Thus, for example, S. Ambrose, in commenting on the Prophet Isaiah, says: "No human creature, the offspring of man and woman, is exempt from original sin: He only was not subject to this sin Who was born without a human father of the Virgin by the operation of the HOLY GHOST." Eusebius of Amasea expresses himself with even yet more precision in his second sermon on the Nativity: "None is exempt from original sin, not even the Mother of the Redeemer of the world: JESUS only is alien from the law of sin, although born of a woman who was herself under the law of sin." In the same way we find in the writings of Tertullian expressions as precise on the universality of original sin: (*De præscript.* Cap. iii.), so in S. Cyprian, in S. Epiphanius, in S. Gregory Nyssen, S. Athanasius, S. Hilary of Poitiers, S. Basil the Great, S. John Chrysostom, and others. Is it possible that the anathemas lately pronounced by Pope Pius IX. against those who will not accept the dogma invented by him in the nineteenth century, extends itself also over all Christian antiquity, over all the ancients and Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church?

But the Pope says further that this doctrine has been accepted and defended before him by the most famous monastic orders, as well as by his predecessors; but history asserts the contrary. It is true that, at the end of

the twelfth century, some monks of the Diocese of Lyons decided out of their own head to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and to institute a feast on the occasion. But, at the same moment, one of the most zealous promoters of the honour of the Blessed Virgin, S. Bernard, protested against the novelty. He addressed to his monks an epistle in which he explained categorically: that this doctrine was altogether unknown to the Church; that such a novelty was too bold, injurious to Christian antiquity, contrary to the true honour due to the Blessed Virgin, and dangerous in its consequences, as the fruits of ignorance, of misbelief, and, in brief, as heretical. This long epistle of S. Bernard is of the greatest importance as regards the actual question.[1] "I am terrified," says S. Bernard, "when I learn that some of you have expressed a desire of introducing a new Festival, hitherto unknown in the Church, that does not approve itself to reason, and cannot be justified by ancient tradition. Are we then more learned and more pious than our fathers? It is a most dangerous presumption to take in hand that which their wisdom never agitated. But you will tell

[1] And the more so when we consider that S. Bernard was not writing, as is somewhat vaguely stated here, about the Immaculate Conception, but only on the institution of a Festival in honour of *the* Conception. The defenders of the new dogma, while allowing S. Bernard's opposition to it, argue that he specifically submits his own sentiments to the Holy See. He does no such thing: he submits them to Papal decision so far as the institution of a Festival was concerned which, though he did not approve it, *yet*, if the Pope so ordered, he would accept. But as to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it never seems to have entered his mind that the Holy See would accept that; and accordingly he says not one word of submission to its decision on that ground.

me that it is the duty of all to glorify to the utmost of their ability the Mother of the LORD. True: but it is also to be observed that the glorification of the Queen of Heaven demands a particular power of discernment. This royal Virgin has no need of mistaken honour while she possesses such true grounds of real glory. Glorify the purity of her earthly frame in the holiness of her life; admire the riches of her graces, adore her divine SON; exalt her who conceived without concupiscence, and brought forth without suffering. What must be added? You say that we ought to celebrate the Conception which preceded her glorious Nativity; because if the Conception had not preceded, the Nativity could never have been glorified. But what if for the same reason we were to demand the same celebration for the Parents of the Blessed Virgin, or of her grandparents, or their parents?"

After so decisive a testimony against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, how can it be said that this doctrine was unanimously received by the Western Church? History assures us that, even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was the subject of perpetual disputes between the monastic orders. The order of Dominicans took every possible pains to prevent the introduction of this innovation; in spite of all the efforts of the Franciscans, the Conception remained without the addition of the adjective Immaculate. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, would not accept it, and has expressed his opinion in these words:—"When we celebrate the Festival of the Conception of S. Mary, we do not intend to say that she was exempt from original sin when she was conceived, but only that she was sanctified,

although the moment of her sanctification be unknown; so that the Festival ought rather to be called that of the Sanctification than of the Conception." In another place the same Thomas says, "Since the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived from the matrimonial union of her parents, it follows that she was conceived in original sin." Others also of the most famous doctors of the Latin Church have expressed themselves in the same way. More especially we may refer to S. Bonaventura, Bellarmine, and the Master of the Sentences. Instead of the word immaculate, they had begun to use that of miraculous, no doubt attaching to it the same idea with which the orthodox Church at the present moment celebrates the Festival: that S. Mary was born of sterile parents. Where then are the famous monastic orders, who, if we are to believe Pius IX., preserved and defended this doctrine? Only, very late, among the Franciscans: they received it in the fifteenth century from one of their colleagues, Duns Scotus, (+ 1308,) called among the Latins the most Subtile Doctor. He first, when professor in the University of Paris, began to teach that the Blessed Virgin Mary, even in her conception, was exempt from the sin of Adam. Nevertheless, however subtile this doctor might be, before he advanced this hypothesis, he had expressed himself in these terms:—"Was the Virgin Mary exempt from sin in her Conception, or was she not exempt? God only knows." His hypothesis on the Immaculate Conception is as follows:—"I say that God could so order it that the Blessed Virgin never participated in original sin; He could also so order it that at the first moment of her Conception she was liberated from this sin; could also

so order it that she was not purified from it till a certain time had elapsed."

However feeble be the foundation on which Duns Scotus based his doctrine; however strange be the reasoning which advances from the possible to the real, the spirit of his age willingly accepted his teaching. The theological faculty of Paris was well disposed to any novelty in religion; the Franciscans accepted the doctrine with transport, proud that a distinguished theologian of their own order should have advanced under a new point of view the worship of the Virgin: visions, miracles, and legends followed without number, in support of the innovation. In vain did the Bernardines and Dominicans oppose the new teaching—the Sorbonne triumphed. All those who opposed the doctrine of Duns Scotus were persecuted, driven from their theological chairs in the universities, deprived of the right of being confessors and doctors, even shut up in prisons, and became the objects of popular sarcasm.

The case is the same with the appeal made by Pius IX. to his predecessors, who, he tells us, preserved and defended by all possible means this doctrine as ancient and universal. Since it was completely unknown to the ancient Church of S. Bernard, none of the previous Popes could either contradict or defend this doctrine; and the Bull *Ineffabilis* therefore cites none of their testimonies. We might, however, quote two of the greatest Roman Pontiffs, S. Leo and S. Gregory, in opposition to the doctrine. The former expresses himself thus:—"The Son of the Blessed Virgin, Who was not a stranger to human nature, was a stranger to sin, and was alone born without sin." The second says

much the same thing: "The heavenly FATHER put all His complacency in the Only-Begotten SON, our Redeemer, because He found in Him no sin."

When after S. Bernard the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception became a matter of controversy and encountered strong opposition, its very novelty attracted to it the attention of some of the Popes: Innocent II., Innocent III., Honorius III., Urban IV., Innocent V., and Clement V. But why does not Pius IX. mention them in his Bull? Because every one of these Popes opposed his new dogma; although he cites Paul V., Gregory XV., Alexander VII. as defenders of the doctrine; but then these lived in the seventeenth century, when Rome, under the immediate influence of the Jesuits, submitted itself to a rapid course of innovation. Secondly, even from the decision of these very Popes, as, for example, that of Gregory XV., who forbade the addition of any adjective to the word conception, and even from the system of theology which had appeared in these last centuries, it is clear that in the Roman Church, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was an opinion, and an opinion only.

C.

We ask then—on what is the new Latin dogma founded, contrary as it is to Holy Scripture, Tradition, History? Surely, *On nothing.* Pius IX., however, has recourse to a different kind of proof. According to him, reason itself demands the acceptation of this doctrine: 1. Because it is suitable that the Virgin, as the first-born daughter of GOD, (Glories of Mary, vol. i. p. 69)

as the restorer of the human race, as Mother of the SON of GOD, should be exempt from original sin. And this, because, says he, it would be impossible that the SON of GOD should be born of her if she had participated in this sin. 2. It is necessary to accept the new dogma, because the glory of the Virgin requires that the case should so be.

Although this kind of argument is, from its very nature, undeserving of a serious reply, yet the Papal advocates, and especially Liguori, endeavour to give a kind of likelihood, in the popular mind, to this sort of proof, and thereby to arrive at their aim: the acceptation of the dogma by the Christian world as an irrefragable truth. We are bound, then, on our side, to turn our attention to the argument, however strange it seems, in order that we may prove such a reason, or rather such a sophism, to be the mere fancy of a judgment, rash in itself, and presumptuously intruding into the mysteries of GOD, and contrary to faith and to reason.

As to the pretended necessity of the case, the Word of GOD furnishes us with a ready answer: "Who hath known the mind of the LORD, or who hath been His counsellor?" And so writes Isaiah: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith the LORD. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts." The new dogmatists ought to have called to mind these divine words, and not—frail counsellors!—have endeavoured to penetrate into the depths of the counsels of GOD, more especially in regard to a mystery so sublime as the Incarnation of the SON. Surely they should have ac-

have had nothing in common with a race of sinners, descendants of the same Adam? by consequence, that she should have had no connexion with the human race? Such are the results that naturally flow from the theories of Liguori! He would fain, by his own unassisted endeavours, penetrate the mysteries of GOD: he is not afraid to attribute to the Divine Mary, as manifested in the Redemption of man, his own plans and *conveniences:* he forgets that JESUS CHRIST, even when born of Mary, ceased not to be GOD; that He was born true man, and yet without sin, because, filled with divine grace, she brought Him forth without a human father, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST.

They affirm, lastly, that it is necessary for the glory and honour of the Blessed Virgin herself to have her Conception immaculate. We are far from the idea of Protestants, who, while they respect in the person of the Mother of GOD her virtues, her humility, her submission to the Divine Will, see not, and will not see, her exaltation above all creatures celestial and terrestrial, and her mediation between her SON and the faithful. We agree entirely so far as this; that our duty is to glorify, by every possible means, her whom the Almighty has invested with majesty, and whom, according to the Gospel, all generations must call blessed: we agree that this is a holy work, and the duty of every Christian. This the Orthodox Church does: since the earliest ages of Christianity she has glorified the Blessed Virgin, naming her more precious than the Cherubim, and infinitely more glorious than the Seraphim; supplicating her as the most powerful mediatress with the LORD, and the mightiest advocate of the Christian

world, as a token of her profound devotion to Mary, the Orthodox Church gives her image the place next to that of the Saviour, in order that the faithful may be reminded of her powerful intercession with her Son. The Priest, before the commencement of the Liturgy, in preparing the Holy Mysteries, names the Blessed Virgin as the head of all saints, and for that reason, when the symbolic immolation of the Divine Lamb has taken place,

a The Holy Lamb. *b* The portion of S. Mary.
c The nine portions of Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, &c.
d Portions for the living. *e* Portions for the dead.

he takes from the second prosphora a particle in honour of the Virgin, and places it on the disk at the right of the Lamb, while he pronounces the words, At Thy right hand did stand the Queen.

In commemorating the principal events of her life, the Orthodox Church glorifies them by particular feasts, as the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Assumption. Under the conviction that the Blessed Virgin, as mother of the Most High GOD, always enjoys a maternal access to her SON and her GOD, and prays incessantly for the Christian world, the Orthodox Church terminates nearly all her prayers by "commemorating the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable Mother of GOD, and ever-Virgin:" as a proof how powerful is her intercession with GOD, and how capable of propitiating His favour. But while thus glorifying S. Mary, the Orthodox Church has never entered on the question whether her Conception was immaculate, and has even considered the question itself unsuitable to the dignity of the Queen of Angels.

If this Holy Virgin descended from Adam the sinner, was conceived as all his other descendants in original sin, and, in spite of this, profiting by the gifts of grace, by constant watchfulness over herself, attained to such a height of virtue as was never reached by any other mortal, and preserved the purity of her heart from every illicit thought, and all voluntary sin, so as to surpass the angels themselves in purity and sanctity: does not all this constitute a treasury of merits personal to herself, and which might render her worthy to be chosen as Mother of the SON of GOD? But if, according to the new doctrine, she were always exempt from sin, may it not be said that less care was necessary to attain that holiness and that virtue, and that they were rather the natural consequence of her inclination to good than the effects of her free-will. In this case

the new Roman dogma would surely diminish rather than increase the honours of the Divine Virgin.

It must be added that the defenders of the dogma, obliged to conciliate it with the decree of Trent on original sin, have invented an explanation at variance with the pious veneration due to S. Mary. They enter into scholastic subtilties, and have invented an arbitrary hypothesis, never hitherto received by science, which they apply to the Conception of the Virgin. They say that the conception of man is double; the one that active conception which consists in the formation of the body, the other that passive conception which is probably the union of the soul to the body when the latter has already received its organisation: these two conceptions according to their teaching are separated by a certain period of time. According to them, therefore, the first conception even with regard to S. Mary, was not exempt from sin; the second was, properly speaking, immaculate, because her soul at the moment of its union with the body, was, by the power of sanctifying grace, completely exempt from the least shadow of sin.

We ask then, if sophisms so subtle and scholastic, one might even say, childish, and which have no place in the science of physiology and psychology, can be reconciled with sincere devotion to the Blessed Virgin, or with her glory? Is it possible to found on such a fancy, the dogma which the adherents of the Papacy defend? If we grant it, Mary was conceived and was not conceived in original sin, conceived as regards the body, not conceived as regards the soul. It is thus that in pursuing the shadows of truth, they fall into self-contradiction—*mentita est iniquitas sibi.*

For our own parts, let us be thankful to GOD our SAVIOUR that we are by His grace in the fold of the orthodox Church. Her pastors feed us with sound doctrine, and hand down to us the faith in all its purity without the least change or addition. In the Latin Church, what is there that is certain and stable? That which during the space of many ages was said to be sufficient to salvation, is now insufficient, and requires additions: and their present faith may in like manner, in the lapse of time, require fresh complements to its entireness. Dogma itself is not exempt: its change and even the invention of new doctrines depend on circumstances, and are so much the more easily brought to pass, because as the Roman Pontiff regards himself as infallible in matters of faith, he acknowledges no limits to his enterprises, neither the Word of GOD, nor sacred tradition, nor history. Nor does the Pope find more difficulty in the acceptation than in the invention of his new dogmas, because the people is accustomed to receive at once as a divine message whatever he pronounces *ex cathedrâ*, without examining whether it be, or be not, conformable to the doctrine of the Church. Ask a common layman what he understands by the term Immaculate Conception? For the most part such an one will answer,—It means that the Virgin Mary conceived the SON of GOD by the HOLY GHOST, or—It means that the Virgin Mary was conceived by the HOLY GHOST: and this is the interpretation they put upon it. Priests for their part, remain mute in consequence of their adulation for the Holy See: they excuse everything in the laity so that the dogma be accepted without opposition. It is the

Jesuits who play the principal part in this affair as the chief instruments of the Papal power; ready to sacrifice everything, even that which is most sacred, to their own interests; and in thus maintaining the actual dogma, they are rendering the greatest service to the Pope. In exalting, although not in reality, devotion towards the Blessed Virgin, their chief aim is to get the women on their side. No long time since, a Jesuit thus wrote,—Let but the women be with us, and we are masters of the situation.

What then could have excited the present Pope to invent a new dogma in the nineteenth century, and to anathematise those who will not do so? Was it the conviction of its truth, or zeal for the salvation of others? or the greater glory of the Blessed Virgin? No; his Bull explains his views differently. In congratulating himself on the success of his enterprise, the Pope hopes "that since he has succeeded in proposing and deciding on a point connected with the honour of the Virgin, she for her part will extend the Roman Church to all nations, even to the ends of the world, and that all Christian Communions will have recourse to her, so that there may be one fold and one shepherd." These are the views dear to the heart of Pius IX.; this is the aim of all the efforts of Roman Pontiffs; and he does not consider that the very spirit of innovation received from his predecessors and more deplorably imitated by him, was the cause of the schism by which the Church of GOD is rent.

V.

A LETTER FROM PALESTINE.

V.

A LETTER FROM PALESTINE.

I WRITE to you, madam, from the deepest part of the desert, from the solitary monastery of S. Sabas, which lies above the dry bed of the Cedron, in the Valley of Tears, so called because it is prophetical of the Last Day. If you descend the path, you pass by the most horrible abysses, and come down to the Dead Sea. If you ascend the stream, you will come to Jerusalem. Is not this the image of our life? He who in this true Valley of Tears, allows himself to be carried away by the troubled stream of temptation, descends from abyss to abyss even to eternal death; he on the contrary who fights vigorously against the torrent of his passions, will in the end arrive, not at the earthly, but the celestial Jerusalem, the true Vision of Peace.

This horrible valley was chosen by the holy Anchorite Sabas, in the sixth century. In a very little while, five hundred hermits came to partake his solitude; you may still see their cells like birds' nests in the clefts of the rocks.

It must have required great courage to shut oneself up in those lonely rocks; I climbed up into three of the cells, and was too tired to proceed further; but the reason is, that those men were of a different nature from us; they only saw heaven; and earth did not exist for them; thus they did things which are out of our reach, and yet they were perfectly natural *to them*, though far beyond us.

S. Sabas began by chasing a lion out of its den preparatory to establishing himself there. He said to him, "We are both creatures of the same Creator; but since I am the reasonable being, it is but just that you should cede your place to me." And the lion obeyed. Do not go and cry a miracle; consider the thing logically, and you will see that it is more natural than if S. Sabas had fled before the lion. GOD created man lord of nature and of all animals; man by his fall lost this high position, though still retaining dominion over some; but man regenerated by the birth of our SAVIOUR, and arrived like Sabas at the height of human innocence before the fall, retakes his dominion, and it is natural that lions should obey him, and that, as David says, "He should tread upon the lion and the adder." It is thus, madam, that many things in religion which surprise us till we analyse them with the spirit of faith and holy reason, become more than natural, and it is the contrary which would be unnatural.

Among these caves there are three very striking ones; the stream just there makes a bend, so that they are all close together, and are yet separate for ever. There lived three hermits of the sixth century, Xenophon, and his two sons, Arcadius and John. Every day they saluted

each other from the threshold of their caves, not being able to speak because of the distance. Oh what an immense sacrifice of all that is most dear to the heart!

We came here from Jerusalem, for the feast of S. John Damascene, a famous hermit and writer, who lived in this convent about the eighth century; it is not very long since they discovered his tomb in the tower which he inhabited. It is to him that the Church owes all her most beautiful chants, and particularly those for Easter morning. The abbat of the convent knowing his great talent, forbade him to write, as a trial of his humility. The hermit humbly obeyed the order, but a monk having lost his brother, implored the saint to write some funeral canticles to console him, and it is to this we owe the magnificent office which the Church still chants at every burial. The abbat having learnt this, would have expelled the famous poet from his convent, but as all the monks opposed him in this matter, he told S. John that if he would stay, he must perform the most menial offices in the convent. But what was the abbat's astonishment, when he found that the holy hermit readily obeyed this order. Then the superior throwing himself at his feet, implored him to compose for the church all the hymns which she sings to this day on her feasts. It is this great and humble anchoret, whose feast we are come to spend at his tomb; the day after to-morrow is the festival of the founder S. Sabas: then we shall return to Jerusalem for the feast of S. Nicholas: the church and patriarchs of the holy city having ordained to keep it in the holy sepulchre. There is a magnificent office at which I shall assist to-morrow, and then go to Bethlehem and the Jordan.

You will wish to know how I came to Jerusalem. A strong sea brought me to Beyrouth; from there accompanied by the worst weather, I went through Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; I have visited the imposing ruins of Baalbek; and Damascus, buried in gardens, is like a vision of the thousand and one nights. It might be called the Granada of the East, from its water and the extent of its grounds, but its buildings are not equal to that city.

There I found the late patriarch of Antioch, who gave me the most touching welcome, and though almost dying, would say mass for me, supported by his deacons, for he trembled at each step. I was very much struck by this act of charity on his part, which I did not deserve.

From Damascus I went to the Lake of Tiberias, and I enjoyed all the scenes of which the Evangelists speak. I have ascended the Mountain of the Beatitudes, where CHRIST preached "Blessed are the poor in spirit," &c. I have sat down near the stone where He fed the five thousand men. I have seen Cana of Galilee, of which I have so often heard in the Gospel at marriages. At Nazareth, I even heard mass in the Grotto of the Annunciation; and I have been to the pillar which stands where the archangel appeared to the Blessed Virgin. I have gone down into Samaria, into the prison where S. John the Baptist was beheaded, and at Sychar I saw the well where our LORD talked with the woman of Samaria. I have seen Bethel, where Jacob had his mystical vision. Finally, on the eve of my Patron Saint's day, I entered into the Holy City, and having received the absolution of my sins at the holy sepulchre

itself, I have had the happiness of communicating in the very place where JESUS CHRIST shed His blood for our sins.

I write to you, madam, still from the Holy City, because I did not wish to leave Jerusalem without letting you hear from me. Since my letter to you from S. Sabas, I have twice visited Bethlehem, both at the Latin and Greek Feasts of the Nativity of CHRIST, and I have had the happiness of communicating in the cave where He was born. If they chanted on that day, "Glory to GOD in the highest," men must be silent, the better to hear, both in the depths of the cave, and of their own hearts, the cry of the Divine Child which calls them to salvation. I have also had the happiness of communicating on the tomb of the Blessed Virgin, at Jerusalem, and I thought of you, knowing the particular devotion you pay to the Mother of our LORD. There is nothing I like so much as mass at Gethsemane. We go there every morning at the dawn of day, as soon as the gates of Jerusalem are opened; you are immediately in the vast cavern, in the middle of which is the rock of the Tomb, like a cave within a cave, and then after having prayed in the bottom of this subterraneous sanctuary, you go all at once out into the valley of Jehoshaphat. We take the air on the mount of Olives, which raises itself up majestically before you, in front of the Temple of Solomon, and then near the dry bed of the Cedron, you may go and adore in the garden of Olives the first traces of the Passion of our SAVIOUR. To-morrow I shall go there again, as last night I spent in the Holy Sepulchre; it was very cold and

damp; but we must forget all for the sake of prayer which exalts us. I shall not long enjoy this privilege; for I leave in ten days: but I shall have the consolation of going there many times first, and communicating there on the eve of my departure. I have already seen all the holy places: I have visited in the desert on the road to Jericho, the abandoned cells of the ancient hermits. I have gone up the mountain of temptation, and into the cave where our LORD gave us the first example of the fast of forty days, and I have kissed the stone on which He was seated.

This cave has been changed into a church, which is suspended over the abyss: it was formerly a large monastery of Anchorites; all the mountain is pierced with their cells.

We have passed a very edifying morning on the banks of the Jordan. Before the sun was risen, we quitted Jericho to visit the ruins of the famous convent of S. John, in the place where our LORD was baptised. I only found a piece of wall, with a Greek inscription on a roll, which a hand (all that was left of the sculpture) held. It was the figure of S. Andrew. I knew it by the inscription (words spoken in the same place:) "We have found the MESSIAH." Is it not touching to find these significant words spoken by my Patron Saint in the midst of the rubbish! It calls us still to CHRIST, showing Him to us as always the MESSIAH. See! this is the healthful effect of an image after so many centuries.

Arrived at the Jordan, we constructed a rustic altar, with the branches of trees cut down on the spot, and after having ornamented it with the frontals and vases

we brought from Jerusalem, the abbat of S. Sabas, a holy man in the full sense of the word, said mass in Slavonic, and we, Russian pilgrims, made the choir. The sky was clear, the Jordan running at the foot of the altar, made a pleasant murmur; the birds sang in the trees round us; it was a true paradise. Then we entered the holy river, and the benediction of the waters was accomplished as solemnly as if it had been the 6th of January at S. Petersburg.

It was a magnificent day; the remembrance of it will always remain with me. I filled two great pitchers in the Jordan, which I shall try to bring with me. While waiting I found an old vial covered with fleurs-de-lys, in the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre: I have had it surmounted by the Russian eagle, and in that I shall bring the water of the Jordan home, if GOD prospers my voyage. I expect to embark on the 24th at Beyrouth, and stop a fortnight at Rhodes, so as to visit the tomb of S. Nicholas, at Myra in Anatolia. I shall be very glad to find myself at Constantinople, and still more when I am in my native land. I shall carry away with me a very precious and vivid remembrance of all the shrines I have visited. They are the friends of the soul, as there are friends of the heart!

VI.

LETTER TO A ROMAN NEOPHYTE.

VI.

LETTER TO A ROMAN NEOPHYTE.

S. Petersburg, Oct. 23, 1856.

HAVING no theological occupation so important as yours, my dear B., I hasten to reply from my own poor stock of theology to your profound arguments, without procrastinating my answer for months as you did. What can we do? We, who according to you, are in such want of instruction, because our education has not been completed in a Jesuit College! You accuse me of writing bitterly, and you think that I bear malice. Not so: it is to your random assertions, and to the inconsiderate disdain which you manifest towards the Church you have left, not to yourself, that I thus feel. It is always so with deserters: none are so harsh in condemning a cause as those who have left it. In spite of all the calm and all the felicity of which you boast in your letters, your heart involuntarily pines, if not for your mother Church, at least for your mother country:

and that is another reason for your being anxious to detract from that which you have abandoned.

You are mistaken if you imagine that I close my eyes to our many imperfections, or regard everything as perfect because it is to be found amongst us. I see all the imperfections with which you can reproach us as I see also those which exist among you: the difference is that ours are external, and so far corrigible; yours internal, and therefore the harder to be corrected. This consideration confirms me in the truth of our holy Church. So far as I see, the true duty of a zealous son of the Church is to endeavour by all possible means to correct the abuses which have entered it, if such there be, and not because of them to desert to the opposing camp. After all, this violent attack of the West on the East, has only existed for the last fifteen or twenty years.

You ask me what has been the effect of the pamphlet of Prince Gagarine, entitled *La Russie sera-t-elle Catholique?* And you promise us some other works of the same kind. To tell you the truth, we could only smile at it. When I read in it the author's remarks on the different abuses of lay-power in our Church, and the corrupted state of our clergy, I was hoping that he would propose some remedy as a cure for the disease: but when I arrived at the last chapter, and then discovered that the only alternative was "Revolution or Catholicism," a smile was the only possible reply. What absurdities are believed in the West because they are asserted by those who have been Princes in Russia! Is it possible that any one can be so ignorant of the spirit of our nation and the state of our clergy, as this author is, when he speaks of the three powers which

can seal among themselves a union of peace and reconciliation? But if one of the members of the higher clergy whom he suspects of an inclination towards Rome, were to propose seriously a union with her, the congregation would stone him on the spot: with such a degree of aversion has the West inspired the Russian people so gentle by nature, but which has not forgotten the intrigues of the Jesuits at the time of the false Dimitri, and the oceans of blood which they cost us.

It is wrong, say you, to accuse the Roman Church of pride and ambition. Had I ever doubted I should now be convinced. The Papal nuncio, a prelate of brilliant talents and amiable disposition, arrived at Moscow some days after the late coronation: yet purposely delayed no doubt in consequence of instructions he had received, in order that he might not assist at a religious solemnity in a schismatic temple, although some days later he made no difficulty in dining with the Mussulman Ambassador. As he had expressed a desire to visit our shrines, I offered to take him over the cathedrals in the Kremlin, and to explain to him their sacred antiquities. All the chapter was assembled, as well as some persons of the high nobility. The nuncio and his suite entered the Church, as if it had been a profane edifice, without expressing the least mark of veneration for the holiness of the place. When we entered into the sanctuary of the altar, I thought that they would wish to adore the relics which are common to the whole of Christendom, such as the cross, the nail, the seamless coat, and the relics of the Apostles. What was my amazement when I saw them examine these sacred objects with a mere antiquarian curiosity, and by the help

of eyeglasses, without even making the sign of the cross, although these relics are neither Greek nor Latin, but belong to Christianity in general. The shrine was at once closed, without, however, the expression of any displeasure whatever, and I continued the explanation of the Cathedral; but many of the bystanders were grievously scandalised. God preserve us from such a Catholicity, arising from no want of personal piety, but purely from the Roman spirit which animates the emissaries of Rome.

If you say that it was not consistent with the dignity of a Papal Nuncio to pray in the temple of another rite, here there was no question of prayer, but simply the respect due to holy things. Not one of us would have failed to render veneration at Rome to the objects of a respect common to all Christendom. If it is thus that Rome desires to arrive at peace, she will never gain her end: for such conduct can excite only hatred and scandal.

Why reproach us with the number of our schismatics who have for two hundred years resisted all the power of our Church to convert them? Have you fewer in the West? Has your struggle with protestantism been crowned with success? You have discovered a new world, and peopled it with your sectaries. Count their numbers in America; are the so-called Catholics of Brazil superior in any respect to the Pagans who inhabited that country? In Europe itself, in France, and in Italy, in what state is Catholicism? Why endeavour to crush with all your might the unhappy East in attacking it with temporal arms, as well as with your Propaganda? Allies of the heterodox, you pervert

Greeks without making any impression on Mahometans. Your philanthropic establishments in those regions which you so much boast, have policy, quite as much as religion, for their end. In the interior of her empire, Russia has no want of charitable establishments of all kinds, although we have only one monastic order, that of S. Basil.

It is true also that we attempt nothing without the co-operation, or at least the assent, of government, because it is in close alliance with the Church. And where is the harm? The labours of our missionaries seem to you isolated; but who confided their mission to them except the Church? And if our Church, as you say, is palsied since her separation from Rome, how comes it to pass that the Pagan people of ancient Russia and modern Siberia have been converted to Christianity? The present president of the Holy Governing Synod, when he was Archbishop of Cazan, contributed largely to the organization of the society of missionaries in his diocese. It daily develops itself more fully both among pagans and also sectaries, and that through the sole action of the Church, the inertness of which you accuse. But as I have said, none is ever so unjust, to his own party, as he who has left it. . . .[1] Nothing is more out of season than these ultra-montane innovations at the present moment; in the midst of a perfect indifference as to religion, and a profound ignorance as to dogma. Is this the moment to raise a question no less subtle than delicate, which could shake many a conviction when

[1] The writer here again enters into the question of the Immaculate Conception. As that subject has been discussed before, his remarks are here omitted.

he who holds it is not firm in the faith; many a conviction of those most essential to salvation, and all because you have confounded sanctification with original sin. Nothing can cure you, no example can profit you: would that that most tragic and recent event could open your eyes, the murder of the Archbishop of Paris! See what it is by imposing a new dogma to do violence to the human conscience! GOD forbid that I should speak ill of the dead, and all the more in this case, because the murdered Archbishop had the reputation of piety! but we Russians cannot forget those words which he allowed himself to pronounce on the commencement of the late war, when he was exciting against us a new crusade in defence of the Turks, whom he did not blush to name a sect of Christianity. May GOD have pardoned him for this sin! But one cannot help recalling those words of CHRIST spoken to S. Peter: "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

May happiness accompany you in the West. For me, you will permit me to remain with my unfortunate East until the moment when the LORD in His ineffable designs shall have called the Greek Church from the recent humiliation into which the hand of the allies, far more than that of the modern Turks, has plunged her. I will endeavour, as you advise, to hasten the moment of the reconciliation of East and West: I will employ all the talent that GOD has given me, and all my zeal in that work; but by no means in the sense in which you understand such a reconciliation, that is to say the submission of the Orthodox Church to the Church of Rome. I will willingly develop the anti-canonical innovations which put the only obstacles in the way of a universal

good understanding. For until they have been removed in a spirit of humility, the reconciliation so earnestly desired will be impossible. I would advise you to read seriously a little book which has just appeared at Moscow, written by a Polish student, Henry Vyttchinsky, at that time a Roman Catholic. Its title is, The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. It is a most faithful picture of the state and the relations of the Roman Pontificate, not as regards the East, but as respects the West, based on facts and bulls, and not on arbitrary and personal opinions. Read it with attention, and answer it if you can.

VII.

ACATHISTON;

OR,

PRAYERS IN HONOUR OF THE DIVINE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SLAVONIC.

VII.

ACATHISTON;

OR,

PRAYERS IN HONOUR OF THE DIVINE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

THE following hymns and prayers were written by Innocent, Archbishop of Odessa, who has been mentioned before, and who was considered the most eloquent preacher that had ever appeared in Russia. A volume of his sermons has been translated into French. He died May 26th, 1857.

Some of the longer and more celebrated hymns of the Eastern Church are called *Acathista*, as said through at a stretch, and without sitting down.

Priest. Blessed be GOD, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

The Reader. Amen. Glory to Thee, our GOD, glory to Thee.

King of Heaven, Comforter, SPIRIT of Truth, Thou Who art present everywhere, and fillest all things, Treasurer of all good, Dispenser of life, come and take up Thy dwelling in us, purify us from all stain, and save our souls, Thou Who art all goodness.

Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us. (*Three times.*)

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

O Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us; Almighty God, purify us from our sins; Lord, forgive us our iniquities; Holy God, visit us in our infirmities, heal us by the virtue of Thy Name.

Lord, have mercy. (*Three times.*)

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Our Father.

The Priest. For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory; to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and for ages of ages.

The Reader. Amen.

And the following Troparia.

Have mercy upon us, Lord, have mercy upon us: because, as sinners, we have nothing to present to Thee, we offer to Thee, as to our Sovereign Master, this prayer; Have mercy upon us.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Lord, have mercy upon us, for in Thee do we put our trust; be not angry with us, nor remember Thou our iniquities, but rather look upon us in mercy, and deliver us from our enemies; for Thou art our God, we are Thy people, the work of Thy Hands, and we call upon Thy Name.

Now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Blessed Mother of GOD, open to us the gates of mercy, that we perish not, who put our trust in Thee; but grant that by thy intercession we may be delivered from all calamity, for thou art the salvation of all Christian people.

I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD.

Odes.

O JESUS, only true Love, Who didst vouchsafe to live in the world, through love, Thou didst exhaust all the riches of Thy mercy, when Thou offeredst Thine own Body to Thy Disciples at the Last Supper; going to Thy sufferings with a firm will, though free, Thou didst keep the good wine till the end, Thy life-giving Blood; and before Thy death, Thou wast buried under the form of the Holy Sacrament in the hearts of Thy friends: bury, O LORD, my passions, that I may glorify the love with which Thou didst sacrifice Thy soul for sin. (*Twice.*)

The impious Judas has robbed us of all our treasure, having sold JESUS to the murderous Jews. O insane Traitor! Called to the Apostleship, thou shouldst seek for the salvation of others, and thou hast lost thine own; having robbed the alms of the poor, thou hast put away from thee the grace of GOD, which we adore with love, and in which we live and move and have our being.

Thou hast fulfilled all the commandments which lead to eternal life: girded with a towel, Thou washest the feet of Thy disciples: how beautiful are the feet of the Preachers of the Gospel! That Thy Apostles may

place all things at Thy feet, Thou humblest Thyself; shaking the dust from their feet, Thou willest that Thy Priests should think of heavenly things. My JESUS, purify me also from all defilement, that I may always serve Thee with purity Who art ever pure.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

Having fortified Thy soul, sorrowful unto death, with the living bread of prayer, Thou goest without fear to death. O invocation full of love! FATHER, let this cup pass from Me, that I drink it not from the hands of Israel, whose thirst I have appeased in the desert: but if it is Thy will that I drink it, I will give them My Body and My Blood unto life eternal.

Now and ever and for ages of ages. Amen.

My SON, wherefore dost Thou set forth with so much haste to a voluntary death? said the Virgin. And Thou answeredst her: I must accomplish My FATHER'S will. I have power to lay down My life, and to take it again; but I go to a voluntary death, to deliver man from the bonds of death.

Ode with verses.

O Thou true Sun, Thou didst reach Thy setting when Thou didst touch the feet of Judas. O depth of humility! Thou didst wash the feet of the impure, returning honour for dishonour. Wash me also with my tears, O JESUS, that being purified, I may do Thy will.

V. They gnashed upon me with their teeth.

Truly this people know not the law, since in their impiety they desired to kill the Lawgiver Himself. Purify us from our iniquities, O LORD, Who art without

sin, that we may not be condemned with those who rise up against Thee.

V. I looked round about me, and saw that there was no man who would know me.

Thou sayest, Peter, that thou knowest not the Man Whom thou hast confessed to be GOD. It is nevertheless this GOD, made man, at Whose feet thou didst cast thyself, saying: Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O LORD; it is this GOD, made man, Who stretched out His Hand to thee when thou wast perishing on the water; it is this Man Who healed thy wife's mother, sick of a fever; it is this Man with Whom, according to thine own words, thou wert happy to abide. Cast one look upon me, O JESUS, as Thou didst upon Peter, and say not unto me at the day of judgment: I know thee not.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and for ages of ages. Amen.

The Virgin said with tears: The powers of darkness came against Thee furiously, inaccessible Light, casting upon Thee dishonour, wounds, and insults. Behold how the impious people have requited Thee, O CHRIST, for that with a strong arm and mighty hand Thou hast delivered them from the hands of Pharaoh. Behold how these ungrateful people have requited Thee, O most bountiful JESUS, after Thou hast fed them with manna in the desert, and given them water to drink out of the rock. Manifest then the might of Thy Divinity, that Thine enemies may be confounded, for Thou art my SON and my GOD.

LORD, have mercy. (*Three times.*)

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

O come let us worship and fall down before CHRIST, our King and GOD. (*Three times.*)

(Psalm cxliii.)

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. Glory to Thee, O LORD. (*Three times.*)

The Choir sing.

GOD is the LORD, He has manifested Himself unto us; blessed be He That cometh in the Name of the LORD.

TROPARIA.

At the time of Supper, Thy blessed disciples were enlightened with Thy Light, by the ablution of their feet. Judas the traitor, led by avarice, plunged alone into darkness, and delivered Thee, O righteous Judge, to wicked judges. Behold, all ye who love riches, how this passion led the disciple to an infamous death. Flee from the insatiable desire of Judas, who betrayed his Master. Glory be to Thee, O LORD, GOD of goodness.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

O CHRIST, one GOD, Thou hast accomplished upon earth the work of salvation. From the Cross Thine arms were opened to all men that they may one day say unto Thee, LORD, Glory be to Thee.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Honourable Joseph, after having taken down Thy

pure Body from the Cross, wrapped it carefully in white linen, with spices, and laid it in a new sepulchre, and shut the door.

They read the Psalm li.

CANON.[1]

Ode I.

One in former times buried in the waters of the Red Sea, Pharaoh, the tyrant persecutor; the children of those whom He saved now to-day lay Him in the bosom of the earth and bury Him. But we, following the example of the daughters of Israel, sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O Lord! Thou didst bend Thy knees in prayer, Thou before Whom all the tribes of heaven, earth, and hell, bow. Incline Thine ears to my prayer, and hear me, as Thy Father heard Thee when Thou prayedst.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O Lord.

To show that Thou art the true Son of God Thou didst say in Thy prayer: My Father, I am ready to suffer though I have done no evil. I have done evil, my Jesus, spare me the torments.

[1] The word Canon in the Eastern Church is applied to the nine Odes written in a certain measure, and chanted in a particular manner, according to the nine (eight) Tones. The first verse of each of these nine Odes has the name of *Ἱρμος*, because it serves as a bond to all the verses of the same Ode. The second Ode is generally not sung, except in Lent. Thus all the *Canons* in reality are composed only of eight Odes. In the Canon all the first verses (*Ἱρμος*) of each Ode belong to the Church, and only the verses which follow them to the author. See my "Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church," ii. 828.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

Thou didst say to fallen man: In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread: thus, O Thou second Adam, while Thou didst pray, a bloody sweat came forth from Thy all-pure Body: for Thy bread is to do the will of Thy FATHER. I have fulfilled none of Thy commandments, my JESUS, wash me in the sweat of Thy Blood.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Earth is no longer cursed, for it is hallowed by the blood of Thy SON, the all-pure Virgin: O blessed earth, raise me, dust and ashes, to the praise of CHRIST, our GOD.

ODE III.

When, upon Calvary, they beheld Thee, nailed to the instrument of torture, Who didst sustain the earth above the waters, the whole world trembled with fear, and all things cried out: Nothing is holy, save Thou, O our Master.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD.

The Apostles were overcome by sleep when Thou wentest from them to pray in the Garden of Gethsemane: raise us, careless and cast down, and make us worthy and capable to adore Thee.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD.

Beholding Judas approaching as a wolf, like a true shepherd Thou saidst to this perverse disciple: Friend, wherefore art thou come? thus seeking to draw the Apostle to repentance. Me, who sin always and now repent, lead me, O LORD, in the right way, and by Thy might, save me from the mouth of the invisible wolf.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

They came to seize as a thief, with swords and staves, Him Whom they should have sought in the temple as a pure victim: refuse not, O LORD, the unbloody sacrifice offered for my sins.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Thy SON, Physician of the soul and body, having touched the wounded ear, healed the servant of the High Priest: O Virgin, who didst bring forth the supreme Physician, heal all the sicknesses of my soul and body.

SIEDALLEM[1] [Cathisma.]

CANTIQUE.

Thou Who regardest not the proud, hast answered nothing to him who thought to have power over Thee; but weary with the ceaseless lying of the wicked, Thou art silent that Thou mayest preserve me from vain words, and teach me to bear all things.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST; now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Turn my sorrow into joy, O Virgin, Mother of GOD, who didst bear so many sorrows, when thou sawest thy Son in dreadful sufferings, which He underwent to expiate my condemnation.

[1] Christians of the Eastern Church scarcely ever sit during divine service. Nevertheless, regarding human infirmity, the Church sometimes allows it, and especially while the Cathismata are being said or sung; the word consequently signifies those Odes during which it is allowed to sit.

Ode IV.

The prophet Habakkuk foresaw Thy divine humiliation, and struck with terror, he cried out: O God of goodness, Thou hast, by descending unto the captives of hell, destroyed the empire of Satan by Thine Almighty power.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O Lord!

Thou answeredst not Herod, the son of perdition, who had already beheaded John, Thy forerunner and Thy voice: give me, O my Jesus, a good answer after my death.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O Lord!

Herod asked for a miraculous sign, understanding not the great miracle that God should stand before His creatures: shed upon me the light of Thy countenance, O my Jesus, and give joy to my heart filled with heaviness.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

In striking Thee they covered Thy face, O Jesus, which the cherubim themselves cannot look upon: cover me by Thy mediation.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Thou didst shed bitter tears, O Virgin Mary, when thou sawest the Jews leading thy Son as a malefactor: Verily, great is Thy long-suffering, O my Son, and my God, thou didst say with sighs.

Ode V.

Isaiah seeing in the future the mild brightness of Thy coming on the earth, and the breaking of the day without end, realised it from the depth of night and

said in his joy: The dead shall live again, and they shall rise, those which are in the graves, and all the sons of the earth shall rejoice.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

The earth, Thy footstool, hath brought forth thorns to cover Thy head, O my JESUS. Go forth, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, and behold the King of Glory with the Crown of Thorns, wherewith He was crowned by the ungrateful Jews.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

Men are false in their dealings: Thee, the supreme treasure of all men, they have valued Thee at thirty pieces of silver, they have purchased the field of blood by the shedding of Thy blood. Wash with it, I pray Thee, my garments which I have stained after my baptism and my promise of repentance.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

Perverse Judges, ye should obey GOD rather than the Jews, and not condemn to death the supreme Master and Judge of all! My LORD, lead me to repentance, who have followed the bent of my evil passions, that I may not be condemned to eternal death.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Thou adjurest the Living GOD, the Living GOD, said the Virgin, overwhelmed with maternal sorrows: but heaven and earth reply to you that He Who suffers such things is GOD Himself.

ODE VI.

Jonas was swallowed up, without being lost, in the belly of the whale, for he carried the mark of Thy

image and prefigured Thy passion and burial. The prophet also came forth from the monster, as from a nuptial palace, and forewarned the guardians of the sepulchre of JESUS: In vain do ye guard it, in vain do ye flee from His grace.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

Thou didst go forth, O JESUS, from the prætorium, carrying Thy Cross, that Thou mightest, as Abel for Cain, suffer for the Jews; go forth now and save my wandering soul.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

Thou goest like Isaac, carrying Thy Cross on Thy shoulder, to offer to Thy FATHER the expiation of my sins, as an oblation of a sweet smell.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

The patriarch Jacob saw the ladder which reached up to heaven: it is Thy Cross, LORD; send by it my soul from hence to the heavenly dwellings.

Now, and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Weep not for Me, daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, Mary, My mother, for I am innocent: soon ye will rejoice, for I shall rise again, and enter into My glory.

ADORATION OF THE FIVE WOUNDS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

O adorable JESUS!

I prostrate myself before the holy, pure, and life-giving Wound of Thy right hand, and I pray Thee, my LORD, by its efficacy, vouchsafe to place me at Thy right hand.

I prostrate myself before the holy, pure, and life-giving Wound of Thy left hand, and I pray Thee, my LORD, by its efficacy to preserve me from the place at Thy left hand reserved for the condemned.

I prostrate myself before the holy, pure, and life-giving Wound of Thy right foot, and I pray Thee, my LORD, by its efficacy, put me in the straight way of repentance.

I prostrate myself before the holy, pure, and life-giving Wound of Thy left foot, and I pray Thee, my LORD, to keep my feet from every evil way.

I prostrate myself before the holy, pure, and life-giving Wound of Thy side, and I pray Thee, my LORD, by its efficacy, to soften the hardness of my heart, to strike it with Thy holy fear, and fill it with Thy love, that I may love Thee, my LORD, with all my heart, with all my soul, with all my strength, and with all my mind. Grant that, to the end of my life, I may always remember Thy salutary passion, and ever adore Thee and sing to Thy glory this victorious song.

KONTAKION 1.[1]

Victorious Chief and Sovereign Master of Heaven and earth, in seeing Thee, immortal King, hanging on the Cross, all creation trembles with fear, heaven is shaken, and the foundations of the earth are moved; and we, unworthy sinners, presenting to Thee the adoration of our gratitude for sufferings which Thou hast endured for us, say to Thee with the thief: O JESUS,

[1] This Canticle, which is generally short, contains either the subject of the feast or the praise of the Saints.

SON of GOD, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

OIKOS 1.[1]

Fulness and King of the Angelic power, Thou didst take nothing from the Angels, but, GOD Eternal, Thou didst become man for me, and with Thy life-giving Body and Thy Blood Thou hast restored man to life, dead in sin. Therefore full of gratitude for such great love, we say to Thee: O JESUS, our GOD, and Eternal Love, Who hast shown unto us children of earth so much mercy; JESUS, leaving the Angels on high, and descended to man, fallen so low! JESU, clothed with our flesh, by Thy death destroying the sting of death! JESUS, making us gods by Thy Divine mysteries! JESUS, saving all the world by Thy sufferings and Thy Cross! JESUS, SON of GOD! remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 2.

The Angel of heaven, seeing Thee in the garden of Gethsemane, praying unto blood, came to console when our sins weighed down upon Thee as a heavy burden; for in kneeling down to pray Thou presentedst to Thy FATHER the fallen Adam whom Thou hast taken on Thy shoulder; therefore for all this which fills us with faith and love, I sing unto Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 2.

The Jews understood not the reason of Thy volun-

[1] This Canticle is similar in its contents to the preceding, only longer; therefore it always follows the *Kontakion*, and is never said alone. *Oicos* is literally *House:* and answers exactly to the Italian *Stanza.*

tary passion; therefore, in the night when Thou saidst to them who sought Thee with torches, *It is I*, though they fell to the earth, yet nevertheless they bound Thee when they rose up and led Thee before the judgment-seat; in following them on this way, and in prostrating ourselves before Thee, we say to Thee with love: JESUS, Light of the world, hated by this wicked world; JESUS, Who livest in the light which no man can approach unto, seized by powers of darkness; JESUS, SON of the Immortal GOD, betrayed to death by the son of condemnation; JESUS, without guile, deceitfully kissed by the traitor; JESUS giving Thyself freely to all, sold for a few pieces of money; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 3.

By virtue of Thy Divinity Thou didst predict to Thy disciple his triple denial; but, though he had denied Thee thrice with an oath, nevertheless seeing Thee in the Court of the High Priest, his LORD and Master, he went out and wept bitterly; have mercy upon me also, and soften my hard heart, that I may wash out my sins by my tears, in singing to Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 3.

Having true power, according to the order of Melchizedec, as eternal High Priest, Supreme LORD and Master of all things, Thou didst nevertheless present Thyself before Caiaphas, the impious High Priest; having undergone the sufferings inflicted upon Thee by his servants, receive from us these humble praises: JESUS, beyond all price, bought at the price of thirty

pieces of silver, receive me in Thy eternal possession; JESUS, desired by all, but denied by Peter through fear, reject me not, sinner that I am: JESUS, inoffensive Lamb, torn by fierce wolves, deliver me from mine enemies; JESUS, Great High Priest, Who didst enter by Thy Blood into the Holy of Holies, purify me from the defilement of the flesh; JESUS bound, Who hast the power of binding and loosing, forgive me all my sins; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 4.

Animated by the desire of murder against CHRIST, the Jews, listening only to the voice of the devil, who from the beginning is the father of deceit and murder, denied Thee, the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and we, O CHRIST, in acknowledging Thee as the Divine Goodness in Whom are contained all the treasures of wisdom and understanding, sing to Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 4.

Pilate, hearing Thy mild answers, has condemned Thee to the death of the Cross, as worthy of death, though he himself testified that he found no fault in Thee; he has washed his hands, but stained his heart; and we, O JESUS, worshipping the mystery of Thy voluntary passion, say to Thee with compassion: JESUS, SON of GOD and the Virgin, tormented by the sons of iniquity; JESUS, outraged, and despoiled, Who givest to the flowers of the field their beauty, and coverest the heavens with clouds; JESUS, covered with wounds, Who

didst satisfy five thousand persons with five loaves; JESUS, King of all, experiencing fearful sufferings in the place of love and gratitude, the only tribute that Thou meritest; JESUS receiving wounds for us for the whole of a day, heal the wounds of our souls; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 5.

Thou Who deckest Thyself with light as with a vestment, art covered all over with Thy Divine Blood; I know, I know well with the prophet why Thy garments are red; it is I, O LORD, who have wounded Thee with my sins; but full of gratitude for the Wounds which Thou hast received for me, I sing to Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 5.

Isaiah, long before Thy coming, seeing Thee in spirit covered with wounds and overwhelmed with insults, cried out in fear: We have seen Him, and He had no form nor comeliness. And we beholding Thee on the Cross, say to Thee with faith and admiration; JESUS, overwhelmed with injuries, crowning man with glory and honour; JESUS, before Whom the Angels veil their faces, receiving the blows of the soldiers; JESUS, smitten on the face, bow down my head with humility; JESUS, having had Thine eyes blinded with Thy blood, turn away mine eyes lest they behold vanity; JESUS, covered with wounds from the crown of Thy head unto the soles of Thy feet, make me entirely whole; JESUS,

Son of God, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom!

Kontakion 6.

Pilate himself was witness of Thine innocence, for he said to the people, that he found nothing in Thee worthy of death: but the Jews, like ferocious wild beasts at the sight of blood, gnashed their teeth against Thee, and cried out: Crucify Him! crucify Him! and we, embracing Thine all-pure wounds, say unto Thee: Alleluia!

Oikos 6.

Angels and men are astonished at Thee when they see Thee presented by Pilate with these words: Behold the Man! Come, then, and let us fall down before Jesus, outraged for us, saying unto Him: Jesus, the Creator and Judge of all, judged and tortured by Thine own creatures; Jesus, Dispenser of wisdom, answering not the fools; Jesus, celestial healing of all those who are wounded by sin, heal me by repentance; Jesus, smitten Shepherd, deliver us, and smite the spirits who tempt me to evil; Jesus, with all Thy flesh bruised, strike the heart with salutary fear; Jesus, Son of God, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom!

Kontakion 7.

O Jesus, desiring to deliver man from the slavery of the infernal enemy, Thou didst humble Thyself before Thine enemies, and so as a dumb sheep Thou wert led to the slaughter, everywhere receiving wounds and insults; Thou didst bear all this, to save him who sings to Thee: Alleluia.

Oikos 7.

When the soldiers insulted Thee, and fulfilling the orders of the unrighteous judge, wounded Thy all-holy body with terrible wounds, and from Thy head even unto Thy feet covered Thee with Thy precious blood, Thou didst show a long-suffering truly Divine: wherefore bathed with tears we say to Thee, Jesus, Lover of men, and by them crowned with thorns; Jesus, immortal God, suffering Thy passion to deliver us from our evil inclinations; Jesus, my Saviour, make me worthy of all Thy sufferings; Jesus, forsaken by all, and my strength, strengthen me; Jesus, insulted by all, my sole joy, fill me with joy; Jesus, Son of God, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

Kontakion 8.

Marvellous and strange was Thine appearance with Moses and Elias on Mount Tabor, when they spake of the things that should come upon Thee, and which now Thou accomplishest in Jerusalem: wherefore having there seen Thy glory, and here our salvation, they sing to Thee: Alleluia.

Oikos 8.

Everywhere and always persecuted by the Jews, Thou hast endured many insults and divers sufferings, because of my innumerable sins: for some say Thou art no friend to Cæsar, others condemn Thee as a malefactor, others again cry out: Crucify Him, crucify Him. And we, O Lord, seeing Thee condemned by all, and led to death upon the Cross, say to Thee from the bottom of our souls: Jesus, our Judge, unjustly con-

demned, judge us not according to our deeds: JESUS, my strength, falling beneath the weight of Thy Cross when going forth to Thy death, forsake me not in the hour of my grief and my calamity; JESUS, calling for the help of Thy FATHER, strengthen me in my weakness; JESUS, my glory, covered with dishonour, deprive me not of Thy glory; JESUS, Image of the FATHER, transform and sanctify my impure and dark life; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 9.

The whole universe is troubled when it sees Thee hanging on the Cross; the sun hides its light, the earth quakes, the veil of the temple is torn, the rocks rend, and the graves give up their dead: and we falling down upon the place of Thy feet, sing to Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 9.

Famous Orators, notwithstanding their science, cannot express the gratitude due to Thy Divine passion, O SAVIOUR of men; and we touched in our soul and body, in our heart and being, say to Thee: JESUS, bound and nailed to the Cross, take away the handwriting of my iniquities; JESUS, stretching out Thine arms from the Cross towards all, draw me, lying in error and sin; JESUS, door of the sheep, Whose side was pierced, make me, by Thy wounds, to enter into its palace; JESUS, Whose flesh was crucified, crucify my flesh with its affections and lusts; JESUS, dying in torments, grant that my heart may know nothing else,

save Thee crucified; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 10.

Desirous of saving the world, Thou didst heal the blind, the lame, the leper, the deaf and dumb, and Thou didst cast out the evil spirits: but the blind Jews, breathing only wickedness and tormented with envy, nailed Thee to the Cross, knowing not how to sing, Alleluia.

OIKOS 10.

JESUS, King Eternal, Thou hast suffered all these torments for my intemperance, that Thou mightest make me pure in all my being; JESUS, giving us an example in everything, that we may follow Thy steps, saying unto Thee: JESUS, unspeakable love, imputing not Thy crucifixion to sin; JESUS, praying in the garden with tears and groans, teach us to pray; JESUS, fulfilling all the prophecies which concerned Thee, fulfil all the good desires of our hearts; JESUS, committing Thy spirit into the hands of Thy FATHER, receive my spirit at the hour of my death; JESUS, forbidding not the division of Thy vestments, separate gently my soul from my body; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 11.

In offering Thee her hearty praises, Thy all-pious Mother said unto Thee: Thou sufferest, it is true, upon the Cross, but I know that Thou wast begotten of Thy FATHER before the Angels, for I see that the whole uni-

verse suffers with Thee; Thou givest up Thy spirit to Thy FATHER, receive my spirit, and forsake me not, who sing to Thee: Alleluia!

OIKOS 11.

As a brilliant taper, the Virgin was on fire with love for Thee upon the Cross, and was tortured with a maternal sorrow in seeing Thee, the true Sun, hidden in the tomb; and we, O LORD, pray Thee to grant these prayers of our hearts; JESUS, hanging on the Tree of the Cross, that Thou mayest raise us up with Thee to Thy Heavenly FATHER; JESUS, leaving the Virgin as a Mother to John, the Virgin Apostle, to teach us to observe virginity and purity; JESUS, entrusting Thy beloved disciple to Thy Mother, do Thou, Word of GOD, confide us all to her maternal protection; JESUS, Conqueror of the world and hell, destroy the impiety, the pride of life and the lust of the eyes that dwell in us; JESUS, Who hast destroyed the power of death, save me from eternal death; JESUS, SON of GOD, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

KONTAKION 12.

JESUS, give me Thy grace, receive us as Thou didst receive Joseph and Nicodemus, that I may bring to Thee my soul, as they offered to Thee a pure linen, and that with the odour of my virtues I may anoint Thy all-holy Body, and may place Thee in my heart as in a tomb, singing unto Thee: Alleluia.

OIKOS 12.

In singing Thy voluntary crucifixion, we prostrate ourselves before Thy passion, O our JESUS, believing

with the Centurion that Thou art in truth the Son of God, Who art to come in the clouds with power and great glory; put us not then to shame, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy blood, and Who say to Thee: Jesus, Who hast endured unspeakable sufferings, save us from eternal tears, because of the tears of the Virgin, Thy Mother; Jesus, forsaken by all, forsake me not at the hour of my death; Jesus, receive me, Who cast myself at Thy feet with Magdalene; Jesus, condemn me not, as Thou didst condemn the traitor, and those who crucified Thee. Jesus, make me to enter into Paradise with the penitent thief; Jesus, Son of God, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom.

Kontakion 13.

O Jesus Christ, Lamb of God, That takest away the sins of the world, accept this poor expression of gratitude which we offer to Thee from our innermost souls, and by the virtue of Thy salutary passion, deliver us from all sickness both of soul and body, by Thy Cross; protect us from all our enemies, visible and invisible, forsake us not at the end of our life, that, being delivered by Thy death from eternal death, we may ever sing to Thee: Alleluia. (*Three times.*)

After this repeat the first Oikos and the first Kontakion.

Ode VII.

O ineffable marvel! He Who preserved from the fire the three children cast into the furnace, seest thou how He is laid lifeless in the sepulchre which is the sanctuary of our salvation? Therefore let us sing and celebrate God our Redeemer, and let His Name be blessed.

V. Glory to Thy passion, O LORD!

Thou art the true David, for after having taken Thy Cross as an harmonious harp, Thou didst ascend to Golgotha, that Thou mightest deliver us from the anger of Thy Heavenly FATHER, who sing to Thee: LAMB of GOD, Who purchasest the eternal salvation of the world, blessed art Thou to ages of ages.

V. Glory to Thy passion, O LORD!

As a good Architect of the House of Thy FATHER Thou hast taken, O JESUS, our GOD, Thy Cross, as a torch from which Thou didst appear to the world as a true light, and we sing to Thee: LAMB of GOD, purchasing the salvation of the world, blessed art Thou to ages of ages.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

As incense of a sweet savour, Thou didst offer to Thy FATHER the Blood which poured from the Wounds of Thy Flesh, that Thou mightest bring me home to Him, while I sing: LAMB of GOD, Thou That workest out the salvation of the world, blessed art Thou for ever and ever!

Now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Theotokion.—Most pure Virgin, thou who didst virginally conceive and bring forth the SON of GOD, thou didst admire the ineffable long-suffering of thy SON, when thou didst behold Him on the Cross; receive our praise and the tribute of our thanks.

ODE VIII.

Tremble, ye Heavens! Be ye shaken, O ye foundations of the earth! for He that dwelleth in the height

of glory is counted among the dead, and descends into a poor sepulchre! Bless Him, Children of Israel! Praise Him, Powers of the Most High! and ye, Priests of the earth, exalt Him for ever and ever![1]

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

O GOD our FATHER, This is Thy Well-beloved SON, to Whom Thou didst command us to give ear when He was baptized by John, and when He was transfigured on Tabor: Do Thou Thyself now give ear to Him, and quench His thirst for our salvation! And I, while I see Him dead for my sins,—thus sing: O ye, all peoples and tribes of the earth, redeemed by His Blood, praise your LORD, and magnify Him for ever and ever!

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

O GOD, our FATHER! This is Thy SON and Thy celestial messenger. They have humbled Him, and have not believed on His Words: they have set Him at nought, and compelled Him to undergo all manner of torments. But as for me, I cry out: O all ye generations, redeemed by His Blood, praise your LORD, and exalt Him for ever and ever!

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

O GOD, our FATHER! This is Thy SON, for Whom, when He was born, there was no room in the inn: while He lived on the earth He was called the friend of publicans and sinners, and was accused of blasphemy: finally, He hath been condemned to a shameful death,

[1] This is a reference to the VIIIth Ode of the Eastern Church,—the former part of that of the Three Children:—each of the nine Odes of a Canon having generally some allusions to that Ode among the nine which has the same number with itself.

to the end that I, bowed down beneath the heavy load of my sins, may, through His merits, enter into the celestial habitation. Wherefore I cry: All that is within me, bless the LORD, and exalt Him for evermore!

Both now, and ever, and to ages of ages.

Theotokion. This is Solomon, seated on His Throne: Pontiff in His Chair, Head of all things, possessing and giving the invincible arm. He is thy SON, O Virgin, and the SON of GOD, Whom the FATHER hath not spared, but hath caused to die for me, to the end that falling down before Him, I may sing: O all that dwell in the world, righteous and sinners, redeemed by His Blood, praise your LORD, and exalt Him for evermore!

ODE IX.

Mother, weep not when thou beholdest in the tomb the SON Whom thou didst virginally conceive. For I will rise again and I will be glorified; and I will make them partakers of My glory who venerate thee with faith and love.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

I know the cause of Thy Passion on Golgotha: it is I, O my LORD, it is I that have crucified Thee by my lusts: but I repent: forgive me this sin.

V. Glory to Thy Passion, O LORD!

The Cherubin no longer bars the gates of Eden: for Thou, O my JESUS, art hanging on the Tree of the Cross. O the depth of Thine ineffable love! Teach me, I beseech Thee, to worship Thee as I ought.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST!

Thou hearest, O my CHRIST, the Title: JESUS OF

NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS. It is Thy testimony to the FATHER that Thou hast well fulfilled His Will. I pray Thee, O LORD, write my name in the Book of Life!

Now and ever and to ages of ages.

Theotokion.—"Leave me not alone, leave me not full of woe, but haste, O my Comfort, to console me"—thus said the Virgin to Thee. And I, what can I give Thee, O my JESUS? Enter into the heart, that it may be no more mine, but Thine Who dwellest in me and I in Thee!

Photagogicon.[1]

Thy nuptial palace, O my SAVIOUR, opens before me in all its splendour; but I have not the marriage-garment by which I can enter. Come, then, and restore to its brightness the soiled vest of the soul, O FATHER of Light, and give me salvation!

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

My LORD, in one hour Thou didst purify and make meet for Heaven the good thief: purify me by the virtue of Thy Cross and save me!

Now and ever and to ages of ages.

Theotokion.—Virgin Mother of GOD! Living Palace! I know that through my sin I am not worthy to enter the celestial Palace. But I earnestly beseech Thee, for the sake of Thine own beloved SON, hanging on the Cross, my LORD full of mercy, free my face from the

[1] The *Lucernarium* of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites: stanzas which have always some reference to *light*, as theoretically said at the time of dawn.

shame which covers it, and intercede for me that I may obtain salvation!

LAUDS.

Then are said Psalms 148, 149, 150.

My people, My Israel hath done two evil things: they have forsaken Me, the Fountain of Living Waters, and have hewed themselves out cisterns, broken cisterns, which can hold no water: they have demanded and obtained Barabbas, and have delivered Me to be crucified. The Heaven trembled, the Sun was darkened: and thou, O Israel, wast not ashamed, but thou didst cause Me to die. Holy "FATHER, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" [*Twice.*]

Every member of Thy most spotless Body was covered with dishonour. Thy Head endured the Crown of Thorns; Thy whole Body, the filthy spitting: Thy Cheeks, the buffets: Thy Mouth, the vinegar mingled with gall; Thine Ears, the words of blasphemy: Thy Back, the scourging: Thy nerves, the tension on the Cross: Thy Hands and Feet, the Nails; Thy Side, the Spear. Have mercy upon us, O Almighty SAVIOUR; Thou That didst suffer for us and hast delivered us from our own passions: Thou That didst descend even to earth through Thy love to our souls, and hast raised us to Thee: have mercy upon us.

When Thou didst hang on the Cross, all creation trembled as it beheld Thee: the foundations of the earth were moved, when they beheld the greatness of Thy Majesty: the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and the dead came forth from their tombs: the Centurion, when he beheld the miracle, was astonished; and

Thy Mother, standing by Thee in Thy sufferings, cried out, "How should I not weep, when I see Thee naked, condemned, hanging on the Tree of the Cross?" O JESUS our LORD, Thou Who wast crucified, buried, and Who didst rise again from the dead: glory to Thee!

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST. Now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Joseph, assisted by Nicodemus, having taken down Thy Body from the Cross, and beholding Thee naked, dead, deprived of sepulture, Thou, Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment, Joseph, whose heart was pierced with grief, said with tears and groans: Woe is me, O my JESUS! Because they only beheld Thee hanging on the Cross, the Sun was covered with darkness, the earth trembled with fear, the vail of the Temple was rent in twain; and I not only behold Thee dead, but dead of Thine own free will for me! How shall I bury Thee, O my GOD? With what grave-clothes shall I cover Thee? With what hands shall I touch Thine incorruptible Body? What hymn shall I sing at Thy burial, O Divine Love? I glorify Thy Passion, I praise Thy burial and Thy Resurrection, while I sing: Glory to Thee, O LORD!

Troparia.

By Thy Blood, Innocent LAMB, Thou hast blotted out the handwriting of our sins, and hast destroyed the seed of Corruption; therefore is it that, when they beheld Thee going down into Hades, the dead came forth to Thee, as to Him that had set them free.

V. I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

To-day the judgment of the world is accomplished, to-day the Prince of the World is cast out: he that hath lost his original holiness stands in terror and dismay before the LORD of Heaven and Earth: and Thou manifestest Thyself, My SAVIOUR, Victor of Sin, Death, and Hell!

V. The ploughers ploughed upon Thy Back, and made long furrows.

Although my sins be continual, by which without ceasing I renew Thy Crucifixion, yet Thou tearest not Thyself from me, O dying SAVIOUR, but, bowing Thy Head, Thou forgivest me, and callest me to Thyself.

Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST. Now and ever and to ages of ages. Amen.

Come, and let us praise Joseph of eternal memory, who went in the night to Pilate, and begged Him Who is the Life of us all. "Give me that wonderful Man, Whom the wicked disciple betrayed and delivered to death: that wonderful Man of Whom the Virgin, while she saw Him hanging on the Cross, agonised with maternal grief, said with groans: Woe is me, O my SON! woe is me, O my Light, and the fruit of My body! Now is that accomplished which Simeon foretold: the sword hath pierced through my soul: but change my tears into the joy of Thy Resurrection!" We bow down, O our JESUS, before Thy Passion; we bow down, we bow down, O our JESUS, before Thy Passion: we bow down, O our JESUS, before Thy Passion, and before Thy Resurrection!

Then the Choir sings :

It is meet and right to celebrate Thee, O Mother of God, for ever blessed and most pure, more excellent than the Cherubim, and infinitely more glorious than the Seraphim, we celebrate Thee, Who didst bring into the world God the Word, remaining a Virgin. O true Mother of God ! we glorify thee.

And the Reader saith :

Holy God.
Holy Trinity.
Our Father.
In the evening of the Supper.
Christ our God.
Honourable Joseph.

VIII.

THE EXPOSITIONS OF FAITH

EMPLOYED BY

THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSS OF MACARIUS,
BISHOP OF VINNITZA, AND RECTOR OF THE
SPIRITUAL ACADEMY OF S. PETERSBURG.

VIII.

EXPOSITIONS OF FAITH EMPLOYED BY THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

If the Orthodox Church only merits this name, because she has in all points remained faithful to the doctrine of the ancient Œcumenical Church, it follows that her expositions of faith, be they longer or shorter, must, properly speaking, be divided into two classes—1. Those which she derives from the ancient Œcumenical and infallible Church, which have an intrinsic merit of their own. 2. Her own expositions, of later origin, and which derive all their merit from their conformity with those of which I have just spoken, as the Orthodox Church herself derives her[1] importance from her perfect unanimity with the ancient Œcumenical Church.

To the expositions of the first class belong—

1. On the one hand, the professions of faith comprised in the Œcumenical Councils: to wit:

[1] This is a very clear expression of the feeling, all but universal in Russia, that, notwithstanding the errors of the West, the Eastern is not *the* Œcumenical Church, but merely the purest—or rather the only pure—branch of it.—Transl.

a. The Symbols: that of the 318 Holy Fathers of the First Œcumenical Council; of the 150 in the Second; the dogma of the 630 in the Third touching the Two Natures contained in the One Hypostasis of our LORD JESUS CHRIST; the dogma of the 170 in the Sixth touching His Twofold Will and Operation; that of the 377 in the Seventh regarding the adoration of images.

b. And, in general, the decisions, in matters of faith, contained in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, in the decrees of Œcumenical and Provincial Councils, and in the Rules of the Holy Fathers, referred to by the Council *in Trullo*. All these have been printed in the Nomo-Canon, recently published by the Holy Governing Synod.[1]

[1] In the Patriarchate of Constantinople a similar work is the Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηὸς—a handsome quarto of 560 pages. The Canons contained in it are those of

The Holy Apostles.
First Œcumenical.
Second „
Third „
Fourth „
Sixth „
Seventh „ In Trullo: or Quini-Sext.
Prime-second (i. e., Council of Constantinople of 861, disallowed by Rome.)
Council in Saint Sophia (called by the Latins Eighth Œcumenical.)
Carthage (258 and 418.)
Ancyra.
Neocæsarea.
Gangra.
Antioch.
Laodicea.
Sardica.
Constantinople (394, A.D.)

And those of SS. Dionysius, Peter, Athanasius—of Alexandria: Gregory

2. And, on the other hand, those expositions of faith which, though they have never been examined and confirmed by Councils, yet are received by the Œcumenical Church: such as the Creed of S. Gregory the Wonderworker of Neocæsarea; and that which bears the name of S. Athanasius of Alexandria. The former is printed along with the "Orthodox Confession"—of which more hereafter: and the other in the Horologion.

Among the expositions of faith, which have appeared in the Orthodox Church in the East, some are common to all this Church; others are peculiar to the Russian Church.

These are the general symbols: 1. Two Confessions of the Orthodox faith, composed to serve as a guide to all members of the Eastern Church.

A. The first, which appeared at Kieff in 1640, had for its object the preservation of the purity of Orthodoxy against the opinions of Lutherans and Calvinists, and still more against the doctrines of Roman Catholics, and the *ci-devant* Uniats. It is known by the name of *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East.* It was examined in the first place by the Council of Kieff: then in 1643 by that of Jassy.[1] It was then reviewed and approved by the four Eastern Patriarchs.[2] "We find," write they, "that this

of Neocæsarea, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen, Amphilochius, Timothy, Cyril, Theophilus of Alexandria, Gennadius, John the Faster, Tarasius, Nicephorus (A.D. 815,) Nicolas (A.D. 1087.)—TRANSL.

[1] For some account of the Council of Jassy, the reader may consult my History of Alexandria, Vol. II., p. 560.—TRANSL.

[2] That is, Parthenius (II.) of Constantinople, Joannicius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, Paisius of Jerusalem.—TRANSL.

book is in perfect accordance with the dogmas of the Church of CHRIST and with the sacred Canons; that it contains nothing contrary to the Church: and we declare, assembled in Synod, that every pious and orthodox Christian, who is a member of the Apostolic Church of the East, ought to read this book, and not to reject it. Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, expresses himself in a similar manner: "This book contains, it is true briefly, but also clearly, the orthodox doctrine, as you may see by its title: it is a true and pure profession of faith, without the least mixture of the corruptions of other Communions." Finally, it was admitted by the whole Eastern Church, a fact attested by the Council of Jerusalem,[1] held in 1672, under the presidence of Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem. It was again received by the Great Eastern Council of 1691.[2] It was approved and confirmed, for the Russian Church, by the Patriarch Joachim, in 1685, and the Patriarch Adrian in 1696. The latter went so far as to call the work inspired, but not in the strict sense of the word. Next it was received by the Holy Governing Synod: in 1837, by a decree of that assembly, 30,000 copies were published for the use of all the parishes in the Empire: in 1840, it confirmed a special ordinance of the Commission of Ecclesiastical Schools, which prescribed it as a work to be taught in the inferior section of seminaries. In 1845, it resolved that there should be every week a special class, when this book should be studied

[1] Usually called, in England, the Council of Bethlehem.

[2] No account, not even the briefest, of this Council has yet been published in English. It will be related at length in my History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.—TRANSL.

in detail; and that, before passing into the superior division, the pupils must go right through it again, as an introduction absolutely necessary to the study of theology.[1]

B. The other Confession we have mentioned appeared in 1672, at the Council of Jerusalem. Its especial aim was to preserve the purity of orthodoxy from the errors of the Calvinists, and it was published under this title: "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith of the Eastern Church." All its patriarchs and other prelates attested the truth and purity of this exposition, when in 1723 they sent it to the Christians of Great Britain, as the basis of union between the two Churches, and communicated it at the same time to our Holy Synod. The Holy Governing Synod accepted and attested this Confession, by its publication, in 1838, in Russ. In 1845, it ordered that a copy should be presented gratuitously to every ecclesiastical pupil for his study, after he had left the Seminary.

Besides these two general Confessions of Orthodoxy, there are particular Confessions for particular cases, as—

(1) *The oath of Bishops.*—Important as any oath must be as a matter of faith, this is so additionally, because he who pronounces it is a man destined to be pastor and guardian of one particular Church, because he takes it solemnly in the Church, in presence of a vast number of the faithful, and before an assembly of prelates from

[1] This work, which, it should have been stated in the text, was the original composition of Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kieff, in opposition to the ravages of the Uniats in White Russia, has never been translated into English. I have a MS. translation of it, which any theological scholar wishing to study the subject should be very welcome to have lent him.—TRANSL.

whom he expects to receive Divine grace for the purpose of preaching the word of truth, and of feeding well the spiritual flock entrusted to him.

(2) *Dogmatical questions,* which are addressed to Jews and Saracens on their entrance into the one Holy Œcumenical and Apostolic Church, in which all that distinguishes the Christian faith from the false belief of modern Judaism and Mahometanism is clearly explained.

(3) *The profession of faith* pronounced by the members of other Christian confessions, on returning into the circle of the Orthodox Church, and in which the features which distinguish orthodoxy from the belief of the heretics are pointed out.

(4) *The formula of excommunication,* composed of twelve articles, and pronounced in Orthodoxy week.

Finally, these are the confessions of faith composed originally in the Russian Church. There are first:

I. The *positive* expositions of Christian orthodox doctrine, which have been published, and are still publishing, in the name of the Holy Synod, for the instruction of Christians in faith and piety; that is to say, catechisms. The principal of these manuals is the *Great Christian Catechism* of the Orthodox Catholic Church of the East, (the work of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow,) examined and approved by the Holy Governing Synod, and published, by order of His Imperial Majesty, to be taught in schools, and for the use of all orthodox Christians.

II. We might mention besides some *controversial* writings, published, by order or permission of the Holy Synod, against Dissenters; such are, against the Papists; The Dialogues between a man who seeks the truth, and

a man well convinced of the orthodoxy of the Greek and Russian Church; against the Reformed, *the Rock of faith* of the Eastern Church: against the Sectaries, Spiritual exhortation, &c.

To conclude, we must remark that these writings of the second class have not the same importance. Without doubt, in so far as they are all published by the Orthodox Church, they represent the Orthodox Church; but as a touchstone of faith, we can only admit three—1. The *Orthodox Profession* of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East; 2. *The Letter of the Patriarchs of the East*; and 3. the *Great Christian Catechism*, published by order of the Holy Governing Synod.

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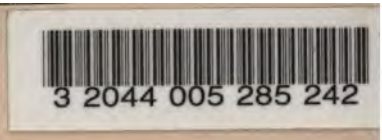

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